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MEMOIRS

OF

REAR-ADMIRAL PAUL JONES.

OLIVER & BOYD, PRINTERS.

MEMOIRS

OF

REAR-ADMIRAL PAUL JONES,

CHEVALIER OF THE MILITARY ORDER OF MERIT, AND OF THE RUSSIAN ORDER OF ST ANNE, &c. &c.

NOW FIRST COMPILED FROM HIS ORIGINAL JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE: INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SERVICES UNDER PRINCE POTEMKIN, PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION BY HIMSELF.

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MEMOIRS OF PAUL JONES.

CHAPTER I.

This narrative is now arrived at a period in which it can be for some time continued in the most desirable way, namely, by the Journal of the Rear-Admiral, kept by himself on the scene of action during his memorable campaign against the Turks, afterwards extended at St Petersburgh and Warsaw, and prepared for publication at Paris. Had he acted the part which manliness and sound wisdom dictated, in openly withdrawing from the service which had been to him one of misery and bondage, in which all the better qualities and higher energies of his mind were converted into the means of self-torture, he would unquestionably have published

this Journal himself, if not in France, either in England or America. He long contemplated the necessity of both of these steps, and all along felt that his leave of absence for two years was in fact a virtual dismission ; but, by the strange fatality, which often appears to enchain a man's will in spite of the suggestions of his reason, he lingered on till death closed the scene.

In a letter written to Mr Jefferson, twenty months after he had been exiled from Russia, and when his last remaining hopes in life began to turn to America, his first country, he says, " As it has been and still is my first wish, and my highest ambition, to show myself worthy of the flattering marks of esteem with which I have been honoured by my country, I think it my duty to lay before you, both as my particular friend and as a public minister, the papers I now enclose relative to my connexion with Russia, viz. three pieces dated St Petersburgh, and signed by the Court de Segur ; a letter from me dated at Paris last summer, and sent to the Prince de Potemkin ; and a letter from me to the Empress, dated a few days afterwards, enclosing

eleven pieces as numbered in the margin. I have selected those testimonies from a great variety of perhaps still stronger proofs in my hands; but, though the Baron de Grimm* has undertaken to transmit to her Imperial Majesty's own hands my last packet, I shall not be surprised if I should find myself obliged to withdraw from the service of Russia, and to publish my Journal of the Campaign (in which) I commanded. In that case I hope to prove to the world that *my operations* not only saved Cherson and the Crimea, but decided the fate of the war."

The Journal is written in disjointed portions, and in a spirit of alternate bitterness and boasting, which the indulgent reader must attribute to the personal feelings from which the work

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* Baron Grimm was a sort of man-of-all-work for the Empress Catherine II., whose business was to despatch, as frequently as possible, all the scandal, literary gossip, and political intelligence, his peculiar industry could pick up in Paris, for the information or amusement of the Empress and her Court. The German had too much tact to be the means of transmitting any thing disagreeable.

arose. The injustice, mortification, and persecution endured by the man and the officer must plead the apology of the author.

To the historian this Journal is of considerable value. It places in an entirely new aspect one of the most memorable of the campaigns between Russia and the Porte; and affords a clue, were that any longer needed, to the crooked and debasing spirit of intrigue by which the domestic policy of Russia was conducted, even under the auspices of the great Catherine.

"*Introduction to the Journal of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones's Campaign in the Liman in* 1788.

"The United States of America having charged me with a mission of a political nature to the Court of Denmark, and having at the same time given me a letter to deliver personally to his Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI., I embarked at New York on the 11th November, 1787, in an American vessel bound for Holland, the captain of which agreed to land me in France.

"After a voyage of a month, I landed at Do-

ver, in England, not being able to get ashore in France. From Dover I went to London, where I saw the minister of the United States. I passed some days with my friends there, and went to Covent Garden Theatre. I afterwards set out for Paris, where I arrived on the 20th December.

" Mr Jefferson, the Ambassador of the United States, visited me on the night of my arrival, and informed me that M. de Simolin, minister plenipotentiary of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, had often spoken of me while I was in America, and appeared anxious that I should agree to go to Russia, to command the fleet against the Turks in the Black Sea. I regarded this proposal as a castle in the air; and as I did not wish to be employed in foreign service, I avoided meeting M. de Simolin, for whose character I had, at the same time, the highest respect.

" As the letter, of which I was the bearer to the King of France, concerned myself alone, my friends advised me not to seek an interview with his Majesty till after my return from Denmark. In that letter the United States requested his Majesty to permit me to embark in his fleet of

evolution, to complete my knowledge of naval tactics, and of military and maritime operations upon the great scale.

" Speaking to a man of very high rank at Paris, I informed him of the proposal communicated to me by Mr Jefferson. He replied, that ' he would advise me to go to Constantinople at once rather than enter the service of Russia.'*

" On the 1st of February, 1788, at the moment of my departure from Paris, I received a note from Mr Littlepage, chamberlain to the King of Poland, earnestly requesting me to breakfast with him next morning, as he had matters of the ut-

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* Whether from a magnanimous sense of justice, or dislike to his associates and rivals, or, as is probable, a mixture of these motives, Paul Jones, in the course of the campaign, became somewhat Turkish, and a warm admirer of the Capitan Pacha. In the Journal he does the Turks ample justice; and in a letter to Baron de la Houze, the minister of France at Copenhagen, we find him saying,—" I have much to tell you respecting the ' moustaches of the Capitan Pacha,' " of which the Baron had probably jocularly desired Paul Jones to send him a good account; " he is a very brave man, and the public have been much deceived as to our affairs with him."

most importance to communicate to me. I went to him that same night, and he told me that M. de Simolin had the greatest desire to converse with me before my departure, and that he expected him to breakfast with us next day.

"M. de Simolin said the most polite and obliging things to me,—that, having known me well by reputation whilst he was ambassador in England, and since he had come to France, he had already proposed me to his Sovereign as commander of the fleet in the Black Sea, and that he expected her Imperial Majesty would make me proposals in consequence. I could not yet look upon the affair very seriously; but I was much flattered with the opinion of M. de Simolin, to whom I expressed my gratitude. When he had left the house, Mr Littlepage assured me that he had written to his Court, that 'if her Imperial Majesty confided to me the chief command of her fleet on the Black Sea, with *carte blanche*, he would answer for it that in less than a year I should make Constantinople tremble.'

"In Denmark I put in train a treaty between that power and the United States; but this ar-

rangement was interrupted by the arrival of a courier from St Petersburgh, despatched express by the Empress, to invite me to repair to her Court.

" Though I foresaw many obstacles in the way of my entering the service of Russia, I believed that I could not avoid going to St Petersburgh, to thank the Empress for the favourable opinion she had conceived of me. I transferred the treaty going forward at Copenhagen to Paris, to be concluded there, and set out for St Petersburgh by Sweden. At Stockholm I staid but one night, to see Count Rasaumorsky. Want of time prevented me from appearing at Court.

" At Gresholm I was stopped by the ice, which prevented me from crossing the Gulf of Bothnia, and even from approaching the first of the isles in the passage. After having made several unsuccessful efforts to get to Finland by the isles, I imagined that it might be practicable to effect my object by doubling the ice to the southward, and entering the Baltic Sea.

" This enterprise was very daring, and had never before been attempted. But by the north

the roads were impracticable, and, knowing that the Empress expected me from day to day, I could not think of going back by Elsineur.

" I left Gresholm early one morning, in an undecked passage-boat, about thirty feet in length. I made another boat follow, of half that size. This last was for dragging over the ice, and for passing from one piece of ice to another, to gain the coast of Finland. I durst not make my project known to the boatmen, which would have been the sure means of defeating it. After endeavouring, as before, to gain the first isle, I made them steer for the south, and we kept along the coast of Sweden all the day, finding difficulty enough to pass between the ice and the shore. Towards night, being almost opposite Stockholm, pistol in hand I forced the boatmen to enter the Baltic Sea, and steer for the coast. We ran near the coast of Finland. All night the wind was fair, and we hoped to land next day. This we found impossible. The ice did not permit us to approach the shore, which we only saw from a distance. It was impossible to regain the Swedish side, the wind being high and directly con-

trary. I had nothing left for it but to stand for the Gulf of Finland. There was a small compass in the boat, and I fixed the lamp of my travelling carriage so as to throw a light on it.

" On the same night we lost the small boat; but the men saved themselves in the large one, which with difficulty escaped the same fate. At the end of four days we landed at Revel, where our enterprise was regarded as a kind of miracle. Having satisfied the boatmen for their services and their loss, I gave them a good pilot, with the provisions necessary for making their homeward voyage, when the weather should become more favourable.

" I arrived at St Petersburgh in the evening on the 23d of April, old style, and on the 25th had my first audience of the Empress. Her Majesty gave me so flattering a reception, and up to the period of my departure treated me with so much distinction, that I was overcome by her courtesies (*je me laissai séduire,*) and put myself into her hands without making any stipulation for my personal advantage. I demanded but one favour, ' that I should never be condemned unheard.'

" On the 7th May I set out from the Imperial Palace, carrying with me a letter from her Majesty to his Highness the Prince-Marshal Potemkin at St Elizabeth, where I arrived on the 19th. The Prince-Marshal received me with much kindness, and destined me the command of the fleet of Serastapole against the Capitan Pacha, who, he supposed, intended to make a descent in the Crimea. His Highness was mistaken in this, and the next day he received information that the Capitan Pacha was at anchor within Kinbourn, having come to succour Oczakow with a hundred and twenty armed vessels and other armed craft.

" The Prince-Marshal then requested me to assume command of the naval force stationed in the Liman, (which is at the embouchure of the Dnieper,) to act against the Capitan Pacha till Oczakow should fall. I considered this change of destination as a flattering mark of confidenec ; and having received my orders, I set out on the same day for Cherson, in company with the Chevalier de Ribas, Brigadier du Jour of the Prince-Marshal. He was ordered to make all the arrangements necessary to place me in command.

At parting, the Prince-Marshal promised me to bring forward his troops without loss of time, to co-operate with the maritime force he had intrusted to my command; and on the journey M. de Ribas told me, 'that all the force of the Liman, comprehending that of the Prince of Nassau, would be under my orders.'

"I spent but one evening and night at Cherson. But even this short period was enough to show that I had entered on a delicate and disagreeable service. Rear-Admiral Mordwinoff, chief of the Admiralty, did not affect to disguise his displeasure at my arrival; and though he had orders from the Prince-Marshal to communicate to me all the details concerning the force in the Liman, and to put me in possession of the flag belonging to my rank as Rear-Admiral, he spared himself the trouble of compliance.

"We set out early next morning for Glouboca, the armament of the Liman being at anchor very near that place, in the roads of Schiroque, between the bar of the Dnieper and the embouchure of the river Bog. We went on board the Wolodimer before mid-day, where we found that Brigadier Alexiano had assembled all the comman-

ders, to draw them into a cabal against my authority. I may mention here, that this man was a Greek, as ignorant of seamanship as of military affairs, who, under an exterior and manners the most gross, concealed infinite cunning, and, by affected plainness and hardihood of discourse, had the address to pass for a blunt honest man. Though a subject of Turkey, it was alleged that he made war with the Mussulmans by attacking their commerce in the Archipelago on his own authority, and that he had followed this means of enriching himself up to the period that Count D'Orloff arrived with the Russian fleet. Though I do not affirm the fact, several persons of credit have assured me that there are often pirates who infest the coast, and the isles between Constantinople and Egypt, who attack the commerce of all nations, and run down the vessels after having seized the cargoes and cut the throats of the crews. Alexiano had been employed by Count D'Orloff. He had reached the rank of Brigadier. Alexiano was a good deal offended in the first instance, and afterwards made great merit with the Prince-Marshal, of the sacrifice which he affected to make in serving under

me. He said, that if he withdrew, all the other officers would follow his example. The Prince-Marshal sent presents to his wife, and wrote him kindly, persuading him to remain in the service. All the difficulty he made was nothing more than a piece of manœuvring to increase his importance; for from what followed I know that, had he left the service, it would have been alone, and that no one would have regretted his absence.

"To give time to those angry spirits to become calm, and to be able to decide on the part I should take, I proposed to Brigadier de Ribas, that we should together make a journey to Kinbourn, to see the entrance of the Dnieper and reconnoitre the position and strength of the Turkish fleet and flotilla. At my return all the officers appeared contented, and I hoisted my flag on board the Wolodimer on the 26th of May, 1788.

"The Prince of Nassau Siegen, whom I had known slightly at Paris, told me, 'that if we gained any advantage over the Turks, it was necessary to exaggerate it to the utmost; and that this was the counsel the Chevalier de Ribas had

given him.' I replied, 'that I never had adopted this method of heightening my personal importance.'"

The Journal of the Rear-Admiral, after this introduction, is continued in the third person for some time; and afterwards goes on to the end as a narrative in the first person, which would have been desirable throughout; it is, however, thought best to adhere faithfully to the original.

Journal of the Campaign of the Liman in 1788, *drawn up by Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, for the perusal of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and now first published from his original MS.*

"At the opening of this campaign the squadron of Cherson was obliged to remain for two days in the road of Schiroque, till the troops should embark which were to form part of the crew. The Prince of Nassau, who had been appointed commander of the flotilla, and who had by this time received on board all the troops in-

tended for him, durst not venture to advance even four or five verstes without being escorted by three frigates. The Prince of Nassau was so apprehensive of danger, that on the 28th of May Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, commander of the squadron, reinforced him with a fourth frigate.

" On the 29th, the troops being all on board, the squadron advanced, and led on the flotilla, which lay scattered about at anchor without any observance of order. The squadron drew up opposite the first village, to the left of the Bog, in an obtuse angle, and thus commanded, by a cross-fire, the only passage of the Liman. This lies between two sand-banks, through which the Turks must advance with their heavy vessels. By this position the Rear-Admiral covered Cherson, and the country on both banks of the Liman, made good the free passage of the Bog to the army of the Prince-Marshal, and held the Turks in check in any attempt they might make against Kinbourn.

" The Prince of Nassau at this time talked a great deal of projects of descents, surprises, and attacks, but without any rational plan.

" A battery having been raised upon the point of Stanislaus, the Prince of Nassau expressed himself delighted with it, as in case of necessity he might there find shelter. The Rear-Admiral could not have retreated, as several of his vessels were already within a few inches of getting aground. The Rear-Admiral was aware that the Turks, having a very superior force, would not give any opportunity of attacking them; and that it was therefore necessary to maintain the strong position he had taken, till the advance of Prince Potemkin, in order to concert plans, and combine his operations with those of the land forces.

" In the meanwhile General Swaroff, commandant of Kinbourn, made the Rear-Admiral responsible for the safety of that place; while Brigadier Alexiano and the Prince of Nassau did all that was possible to make him distrustful of the means which he possessed for attack or defence. They alleged, that the vessels forming the flotilla, having been constructed merely to convey the carriages of the Empress in her late progress, might be expected, at the first attack, to sink under the enormous weight of the guns.

"The squadron made a formidable appearance, but had little real strength. The Wolodimer and the Alexander were but half-armed; and both vessels were already within a few inches of touching the bottom, so shallow is the Liman for vessels of war. In this most critical situation, having no orders from his Highness the Prince-Marshal for his guidance, and knowing nothing either of his intentions, or of the actual position of the army, the Rear-Admiral resolved on assembling a council of war, in conformity to the ordonnance of Peter the Great. The council he opened by a speech suited to the occasion, the main object of which was to show the necessity of a perfect understanding between the squadron and the flotilla; and that, uniting heart and hand, and forgetting all personal considerations, they should determine to conquer, as the true glory of a patriot was to be useful to his country."

[The Journal of the Rear-Admiral details at some length the points on which the council, composed of such discordant elements, were agreed, and states that it was to meet again next

day, to arrange the best plans of attack and defence, and the signals for the fleet. But the cabals of the Prince of Nassau and of the Greek Brigadier Alexiano prevailed, and this heterogeneous body did not again meet. Something, however, was done; and we again resume the narrative of the Rear-Admiral.]

"On the 6th* of June, at two in the morning, the Prince of Nassau advanced, as had been previously agreed on, with the greater part of the flotilla; but, in place of cutting off the retreat of the vessels forming the enemy's advanced guard, he retired at daybreak before a very inferior force, and without offering the smallest resistance!—The Turks chased him, keeping up a cannonade, into the midst of the squadron, which, as had been arranged, advanced to take a position to support him.

"The precipitate retreat of the Prince of

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* The Russians compute time by the old style, which sometimes produces an apparent confusion of dates in the Journal,—Paul Jones sometimes reckoning by the one mode and sometimes by the other.

Nassau inspirited the Turks so much, that, during the night between the 6th and 7th, they drew up their flotilla in two divisions, in a shallow, close by their own shore. The first of these divisions had by day-dawn advanced within cannon-shot of our reserve, which had been posted the previous night on the right wing.

" At sunrise the Turks made sail; and Brigadier Alexiano ran upon the deck of the Wolodimer half-naked, exclaiming, like a frantic man, in French and Russian, that the Turks were going to attack and board us, and that we would be blown to pieces for having been so foolish as to leave our former position. He had, notwithstanding, in the council of war, given his voice in favour of the position we now actually held. Brigadier Ribas, the captain, and all the crew, were witnesses of his extravagant and unjustifiable behaviour.

" This proved a false alarm; the Turkish fleet did not stir.

" The Prince of Nassau came on board the Wolodimer, and the Rear-Admiral proposed to him to reconnoitre the enemy's fleet and flotilla.

As they advanced together, the first division of the Turkish flotilla began to fire from their canoes, and raised their anchors and rowed forward towards our reserve, which they attacked briskly. At the same time several corps of Turkish troops advanced along the opposite bank, as if they intended to establish a post or battery to act on our flank. As our reserve had been posted to cover our right wing, the Prince of Nassau, who knew not what to do, proposed to make it draw up in the form of an arch (*crochet de houlette*,) the better to sustain the assault. The Rear-Admiral told him, that, on the contrary, it was necessary to lift the anchors with the utmost despatch, and to form in line of battle to meet the attack of the Turks. The combat having commenced according to this plan, the Rear-Admiral hastened along the lines, to issue orders to the squadron, and, above all, to make the remainder of the flotilla, posted between the ships and upon the left wing, advance. The wind being adverse, he made these vessels be towed by the ships' boats and other boats attached to the squadron; and by an oblique movement formed

in line of battle, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the enemy, and galling him by a cross-fire. As soon as the Capitan Pacha perceived the manœuvre of the Rear-Admiral, he came forward himself in his kirlangitch, having a very favourable wind, and made the second division of his flotilla advance.

" At this time our reserve was very critically situated. A double chaloupe quitted the action, and four of our galleys were in danger of being captured. The Prince of Nassau, who did not relish going himself, sent Brigadier Corsacoff, who made these retreat. Instead of remaining with the reserve, which, being without a commander, was in very great disorder, the Prince of Nassau quitted his own post, and stationed himself before the Rear-Admiral, where he could be of no use whatever. The Rear-Admiral went into the same boat with the Prince of Nassau, and again issued his orders along the line. Being now within cannon-shot of the enemy, he opened fire, advancing always in an oblique line to cut off the enemy's retreat. At the same time he despatched Brigadier Alexiano to endeavour to

rally the vessels of the reserve, which the Prince of Nassau had deserted; but Alexiano contented himself with waving his hat in the air, and shouting from behind the lines,—' Fire, my lads, on the kirlangitch of the Capitan Pacha !'

" When the line led on by the Rear-Admiral came to close fire with the enemy, their flotilla was thrown into the utmost confusion. Our reserve gave no farther way, and the enemy was placed under a cross-fire. The Capitan Pacha availed himself of the only resource in his power; he set every sail to withdraw his force. Had he remained a half-hour longer, he would have been surrounded. Two of his vessels were burnt in this affair. The flotilla of the enemy was composed of fifty-seven vessels, and we chased into the middle of their fleet. The Rear-Admiral, who had directed the whole affair, gave all the credit of it to the Prince of Nassau.

" An idea may be formed of the capacity of the Prince of Nassau from the following circumstance :—At the beginning of the action he requested the Rear-Admiral to bring forward to the support of the reserve only the vessels posted

on the left wing, which consisted of one galley and a double chaloupe. Besides the insufficiency of force, these vessels had a very long way to make, and that against the wind.

" The Turks remained quiet for some time after this. The Prince of Nassau, who had scarce spoken one word during the affair, save to make extravagant professions of regard for the Rear-Admiral, now began to give himself airs. On the 13th June he addressed a writing of an extraordinary character to the Rear-Admiral, the object of which appeared to be, that an advance should be made of three verstes nearer the enemy, who had taken post under the batteries of Oczakow. The Rear-Admiral, who could perceive no advantage to the service in such a movement, refused his concurrence. Had he agreed, the movement would have been fatal to Russia, as will be seen by what follows.

" By the 16th June the patience of the Capitan Pacha was exhausted. He brought from his grand fleet, without Kinbourn, two thousand picked men, to reinforce the body under the walls of Oczakow; and being strengthened still

farther by the troops of the garrison, he advanced with his whole fleet and flotilla, and with a fair wind, into the Liman, to attack and board us. The ship, which bore one of the Admiral's flags, steered right towards the Wolodimer from the commencement of the movement. When within three verstes of us, or little more, this ship got aground, and all the vessels which accompanied it immediately dropt anchor. It was then about two in the afternoon.

" The Rear-Admiral summoned a council of war to consult on what should be done. He addressed the council, at which were present all the commanders of the squadron and the flotilla, and concluded by telling them, ' that they must make up their minds to conquer or die for the country.'

" The wind, which was rather fresh, being against us, the only thing proposed by the Rear-Admiral that was found practicable, was to draw up our force in an obtuse angle, by bringing forward the right of the line upon the centre.*

* " The plan of the Capitan Pacha was to bear down

This movement was completed before midnight. The wind had shifted to N.N.E.; and at break of day the Rear-Admiral made signal, and the whole squadron immediately set sail to commence the attack on the Turks.

"The Turks got into confusion the instant this manœuvre was perceived. They raised their anchors or cut their cables in the greatest precipitation, and not the shadow of discipline remained in their fleet. Our squadron advanced in line of battle with a striking and formidable appearance, so that the Turks knew not how weak it really was. As our flotilla had been very slow in weighing anchor, the Rear-Admiral was obliged to make the squadron halt twice to await

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full sail on the vessels of our flotilla, and run them to the bottom by the shock of the encounter of his large ships. He also proposed to burn our squadron by throwing in fire-balls (*grappins*), and setting fire to certain trading vessels which he had prepared as fire-ships. He had reason to calculate on success, had he not been thwarted by a circumstance which no man could have foreseen."—*Note by* PAUL JONES.

it. At length, the flotilla being always last, the squadron opened fire on the enemy, of whom the person second in command, who had flown about like a fool, quickly ran his ship on a sand-bank on the south of the Liman. There was no longer hope for him ; from the moment he grounded he was ours. The enemy still kept flying about, and always in the greatest disorder. The Rear-Admiral made his ship (the Wolodimer) be steered to within pistol-shot of the vessel of the Capitan Pacha, but the latter again ran aground upon a sand-bank; and a few minutes afterwards the Brigadier Alexiano gave orders in the Russian language, and unknown to the Rear-Admiral, to drop the Wolodimer's anchor. It was pretended that there were but fifteen feet of water a little way in advance of the ship, which was not true. A considerable time before this the squadron had been taken on the right flank by the Turkish flotilla, drawn up on the shallows, approaching the bank to the east of Oczakow, and commanded by the Capitan Pacha himself. The flotilla annoyed the squadron considerably, by incessantly throwing in along our

line both bombs and balls of great size. Wanting depth of water, our frigates could not advance far enough to dislodge them, and, besides, they found that their guns were too small. The Capitan Pacha had struck down one of our frigates, named the Little Alexander, by a bomb, at the side of the Wolodimer, and at the very instant Brigadier Alexiano made the anchor be cast. Our flotilla still lagged behind, but it did at last advance. Having passed through the squadron in the greatest disorder, and without the least appearance of plan, instead of pursuing the flying Turks, the flotilla swarmed round the Turkish ships which were aground like a hive of bees.

" The Rear-Admiral commanded Brigadier Alexiano to get together some vessels of our flotilla to dislodge the Turkish flotilla. At the same moment the Rear-Admiral advanced in his boat towards the left wing, where the Prince of Nassau was with his body of reserve, employed to very little purpose, in firing on the Turkish vessels already aground. The Rear-Admiral entreated him to lead or send the reserve to act against the Turkish flotilla upon our right flank,

and informed him of the misfortune which had befallen the Little Alexander; but M. de Nassau remained quietly behind his batteries, and made no movement to dislodge the flotilla of the enemy.

"The Rear-Admiral then met Brigadier Corcascoff, to whom he gave orders similar to those he had given to M. Alexiano; and these two officers having got together as many vessels as they could collect, assisted our frigates in dislodging and chasing the Turkish flotilla even till under the walls of Oczakow. M. de Corsacoff was a brave and an intelligent man; he did not affect to have done any thing wonderful. Alexiano was a man of limited talent and of questionable courage, but his vanity was excessive. He pretended to have hauled a battery to within pistol-shot of the enemy's flotilla; but M. Akmatoff, who commanded that battery, declared that neither he nor any one of our people ever were nearer the Turkish flotilla than half cannon-shot.

"The Turkish fleet was now distant. The Prince of Nassau was told that the Admiral's flag, which had been displayed on the vessel of the

Capitan Pacha, was struck down, and he hastily advanced to claim it. The ship of the Capitan Pacha, like all the others of the band, leaned much to one side, and consequently could not fully avail itself of its guns. As the flag of the Capitan Pacha fell into the water from the top of the main-mast, having been struck down by a ball, it is not difficult to discover that the vessel which had fired this ball was in no danger of being touched by case-shot. The saporoses drew the flag from the water, and the Prince of Nassau, a long while afterwards, had the glory (which he turned to good account,) of snatching it from their hands. The Rear-Admiral might have claimed at least the half of this flag, as he had his hands on it at the same moment with the Prince of Nassau; but he regarded it as a thing of very little consequence.

" Brandcougles* had been thrown into the two

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* A note by Paul Jones describes these incendiary missiles as a kind of bomb-shells, perforated with holes, and filled inside with combustible materials. They were fired from a sort of pieces called *Licornes*.

Turkish vessels, and they were burnt. Was this a good or a bad piece of service? These two vessels were only ours from the accident of having run aground, and because their crews had been left by their countrymen under the guns of our squadron. Wherefore did the flotilla interfere with them?—ought it not rather to have pursued the flying Turks, who were not yet under the protection of the guns of Oczakow? Our flotilla had received no injury, and had nothing to fear from the shallowness of the water.

"Having first sounded, the Rear-Admiral made the squadron advance another verste, and took post in a right line, barely out of shot of Oczakow, and in line with the farthest back of the Turkish ships that had been run aground and taken. Fire soon after broke out in this prize, which had been imprudently fired upon with brandcougles.

"The fleet and flotilla of the Turks now drew up in a line parallel to ours, and under the walls of Oczakow.

"How imbecile does the human mind become under the influence of sudden panic! The Rear-Admiral, an hour after the affair, advanced in

his boat, and took soundings all along the Turkish line, opposite the walls of Oczakow, and within reach of case-shot, and not a single gun was fired upon him.

"Previously to taking command of the squadron, the Rear-Admiral, as has been noticed, had gone to Kinbourn with the Chevalier Ribas, brigadier *du jour*, to the Prince-Marshal, to reconnoitre the position and force of the fleet and flotilla under the Capitan Pacha, and to examine the entrance of the Liman. They arrived at Kinbourn at the very time that the Capitan Pacha had detached twenty-one vessels of war from his fleet, and with that force entered the road of Oczakow, the wind not permitting him to enter the Liman, where his flotilla and some transport ships were already stationed. The Rear-Admiral was so struck at finding the tongue of land at Kinbourn without any battery or block-fort, that he instantly spoke of it to the Commandant, General Swaroff. This tongue of land, from its position, commands the only passage by which large vessels can either enter or come out of the Liman. The fortress of Kinbourn being far

too distant to be able to command this passage, the Rear-Admiral proposed to establish one or more strong batteries upon this stripe of land, and M. de Ribas seconded the proposition. After considerable delay, General Swaroff was persuaded to establish a block-fort with heavy cannon upon this tongue or point of land, and a battery farther within. But the Capitan Pacha had already got the twenty-one ships in question into the Liman.

" To resume—On the night between the 17th and 18th of June, the Capitan Pacha attempted to bring the remains of his squadron, which had been defeated on the previous day, out of the Liman; but the newly-erected block-fort and battery fired on his ships, of which nine of the largest were forced aground upon the sand-bank which runs out from Oczakow, till within a little way of cannon-shot from the block-fort.

" The block-fort and battery fired on the enemy's ships the whole night, and at daybreak General Swaroff sent to us, requesting that we would send vessels to take possession of those ships of the enemy which had got aground.

The Rear-Admiral wished to send frigates; but Brigadier Alexiano assured him that he would run the risk of losing them. The current there, he said, 'was like that of a mill-dam, and the bottom was so bad that anchors would not hold.'

"It was, accordingly, resolved to proceed with the flotilla; and Alexiano, who had his private reasons, set out with the Prince of Nassau. The flotilla went pell-mell, and without any sort of order or plan, upon the nine ships aground, and fired brandcougles into them without mercy. It was in vain the wretched Turks made the sign of the cross, and begged for quarter on their knees! Above three thousand of them were burnt with their ships. By some chance two of these vessels, the least and the largest, did not take fire; the one was a corvette, very indifferently armed, carrying one battery and four pieces between decks. The other was a small brigantine, of French construction, armed with forty small guns.

"Neither the Prince of Nassau nor Alexiano was to be seen at this time. They were together, and at some distance, during this frightful

carnage; and it was afterwards asked of them if they had not, during this time, been at Kinbourn? As the greatest confusion reigned among the vessels of the flotilla, though our loss was not great, there is no doubt that part of it was owing to Russian bullets.*

"The army of Prince Potemkin having come up on the 27th June, the Prince of Nassau had orders to attack and destroy, or capture, the Turkish flotilla which lay under the walls of Oczakow; and the Rear-Admiral was commanded to give him every assistance that might be useful. In pursuance of these orders, on the first of July, at one in the morning, the flotilla advanced. The Rear-Admiral had sent all the chaloupes and barcasses belonging to the squadron to haul out the vessels of the flotilla. The

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* The species of warfare in which he was now daily engaged was new to the Anglo-American. The monstrous and wanton cruelties to which the Turks were subjected by the more barbarous and brutal Russians were accordingly viewed by him with horror and disgust.

Prince-Marshal had taken the trouble to arrange the plan of attack himself, but his plan was not followed.

" At day-dawn, our flotilla having advanced within cannon-shot, opened fire upon the Turkish flotilla, and on the place. The current having carried several of our batteries and double chaloupes rather too far to leeward, the Rear-Admiral made them be hauled up by the boats and barcasses of the squadron, and set the example himself with the chaloupe in which he was. The Turks set fire to a little frigate which they had prepared as a fire-ship, and placed at anchor to the N. E. of Fort Hassan Pacha.

" At six in the morning, the Rear-Admiral went himself considerably in advance of the flotilla to seize five of the enemy's galleys which lay within case-shot of Fort Hassan. The position of these galleys, between the cross-fire of our flotilla on the one side, and that of Fort Hassan, the Turkish flotilla, and Oczakow on the other, rendered this a very dangerous enterprise. The Rear-Admiral boarded the galley which lay farthest out, and made it be hauled in a little way by Lieutenant

Leff Fabrician. He afterwards boarded the galley of the Capitan Pacha, which lay considerably nearer the Fort. From unskilfulness, and excess of zeal, a young officer cut the cable of this galley without waiting the orders of the Rear-Admiral, and before the boats could be got in order to haul it out, the wind drifted the galley towards the shore, and still nearer to the Fort. The Rear-Admiral made the galley be lightened by throwing many things overboard. After much search for ropes that might stretch to the wreck of the burnt frigate, and by fastening the galley there, keep it afloat, the plan failed from the ropes not being long enough. The Rear-Admiral was very unwilling to yield to the obstinate opposition of the Turks, who fired upon him from all their bastions and from their flotilla, and he despatched Lieutenant Fox to the Wolodimer, to fetch an anchor and cable. This was a certain means of securing his object; and in waiting the return of the Lieutenant, he left the galley with his people, and assisted in the flotilla's advance. Before the return of Lieutenant Fox, he had, however, the mortification to see

fire break out in the galley of the Capitan Pacha. He at first believed that the slaves chained on board had found means to escape, and had set fire to the vessel; but he had afterwards positive proof that Brigadier Alexiano being in a boat at the time with the Prince of Nassau, on the outside of the flotilla, and being aware of the intention of the Rear-Admiral, swore that it should not succeed, and sent a Greek canoe to set fire to the galley !* The three other Turkish galleys were at once run down and burnt by brandcougles. There were also a two-masted ship and a large bomb-vessel burnt near Fort Hassan Pacha. This includes all that was taken or destroyed by water, save fifty-two prisoners taken by the Rear-Admiral in the two galleys. The wretched beings, who were chained in the galley

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* The attestation of a Russian officer to this singular fact is among the *Pieces Justificatives* appended to the Journal; and the original of that attestation, written in French, and subscribed Bilicroff, officer of the guard, and dated at Kinbourn the 26th October, 1788, remains among Jones's papers.

of the Capitan Pacha, perished there in the flames!

"The Prince-Marshal having made an important diversion on the land-side, it is to be regretted that advantage was not taken of this movement to seize the remainder of the enemy's flotilla. But our flotilla never came up within reach of grape-shot."

The above extracts from the Rear-Admiral's Journal are verified in the following manner:—

"These extracts have been translated by me into the Russian language, and read before the commanders of the ship Wolodimer, Captain of the Second Rank, Zefaliano; of the frigate Scoroi, Captain of the Second Rank, Aboljanin; of the frigate Nicolai, Captain Lieutenant Daniloff; of the frigate Taheuroc, Lieutenant Makinin; of the frigate the Little Alexander, Lieutenant Savitzsky; and they have found nothing in them contrary to truth.

"On board the Wolodimer, before Ockzakow, the 28th October, 1788.

" Paul Denetreffsky, Honorary Counsellor of the College for Foreign affairs, and by special orders of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, Secretary to Rear-Admiral and Chevalier Paul Jones."

Addition of Rear-Admiral Jones to the preceding Journal. Translated from the French of the MS. volume, prepared for Publication by himself.

" The moment the ships began to withdraw from Oczakow, the Prince of Nassau and Brigadier Alexiano hurried straight to the head-quarters of the Prince-Marshal, to relate the deeds which they pretended they had performed. In a few minutes after the flotilla began to retire, the rain fell in torrents, of which Nassau and Alexiano received their own share before reaching head-quarters.

" Two days afterwards, Brigadier Alexiano returned on board the Wolodimer, having caught a malignant fever, of which he died on the 8th

July. The Prince of Nassau, who had made use of him in caballing against me, God knows for what, neither visited him in his sickness, nor assisted at his funeral. At first it was given out, that the service must sustain the loss of every Greek in it on account of his death; but I soon experienced the reverse. Not one asked to be dismissed; they remained under my command the same as the Russians, and were better pleased than before. On the day preceding the death of Alexiano, he had received intelligence of having been promoted two grades; and that her Majesty had bestowed on him a fine estate, and peasants, in White Russia. At the same time the Prince of Nassau had received a very valuable estate, with three or four thousand peasants, also in White Russia, and the Military Order of St George, of the Second Class. Her Majesty likewise gave him liberty to hoist the flag of Vice-Admiral on the taking of Oczakow, to which event it was apparently believed he had greatly contributed. I received the Order of St Anne, an honour with which I am highly flattered, and with which I could have been perfectly satisfied,

had others been recompensed only in the same proportion, and according to the merit of their services. All the officers of the flotilla received a step of promotion and the gratuity of a year's pay. The greater part of them also obtained the Order of St George, of the Last Class. Only two of these officers had been bred to the sea; all the others were ignorant of naval affairs. The officers of the squadron under my command were almost wholly marine officers. They had done their duty well when opposed to the enemy; but they obtained no promotion, no mark of distinction, no pecuniary reward. My mortification was excessive.

"My officers at this time gave me a very gratifying proof of their attachment. On promising that I would demand justice for them from the Prince-Marshal at the close of the campaign, they stifled their vexation, and made no complaint.

"It ought to have to have been mentioned in the proper place, that three days after our success in the Liman, Prince Potemkin arrived at Kinbourn, from whence he came on board the

Wolodimer to make me a visit. He was accompanied by General Count de Brandisky of Poland, the Prince de Repuin, the Prince de Ligne, General de Samoilow, and several other officers. His Highness did me the honour to remain to dinner; and as he knew that an altercation had taken place between the Prince of Nassau and myself on the morning of the 18th of June, he had the goodness to employ the Prince de Ligne, and M. Littlepage, Chamberlain to the King of Poland, to persuade the Prince of Nassau to make me an apology. I accepted it with sincere pleasure. We embraced in presence of this honourable company, and I believed him as sincere as myself.*

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* Probably the first cause of Potemkin's dislike to Jones was owing to the squabbles between him and the Prince of Nassau. Besides the scene above related, Potemkin had previously endeavoured to establish a good understanding between them. On the 30th of May he himself wrote to the Rear-Admiral :—" It is with great pleasure that I hear that harmony is established between you and the Prince of Nassau. I regard union as the foundation of all the services that your talents and your known

"The Prince-Marshal charged me at this time to make arrangements for raising the cannon,

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valour give you both the power of rendering to my country; and I cannot strongly enough recommend to you to live in perfect understanding with the Prince of Nassau." On another occasion, he thanks Jones for having acted in concert with Nassau,—"a concert as useful as necessary to the service of the Empress, and, above all, at such a time."

It is to be presumed, that, if it had been possible for Jones to keep on terms with the Prince of Nassau, he would have done so. His own interest, as well as the public service, and the wishes of his best friends, counselled this; but it seems to have been impossible. A letter on this subject, written from the Russian headquarters by Mr Littlepage, is earnest, sensible, and friendly. "I am not ignorant," he says, "of the bad understanding that unfortunately subsisted between you and the Prince of Nassau, before the 7th of June; but both Prince Potemkin and myself were persuaded that was all ended. He has learned that it has again broke out, and I know that trifling circumstances can give him much trouble. I can easily conceive the delicacy of your situation, and I know that your honour can sacrifice nothing; but, for Heaven's sake, my dear friend, be prudent, as much for yourself as your friends. Prince Potemkin

anchors, and other stores belonging to the enemy's ships which had been burnt, without loss

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has conceived a high esteem for you, but he loves Nassau. If ever mutual interest dictated union between two persons, it is between you and the Prince of Nassau at the present moment. The reverse will be to the prejudice of both. In the name of friendship, reflect upon this. Remember that the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon you. Fear no competition, and be indulgent to those who have not the same reason to feel above rivalry. Nassau has been unfortunate. If you see weakness in his character, excuse it; and remember that he was, and I hope still is, your friend." Jones took this letter in good part, and assured the sensible writer, that for the good of the service, and the esteem and attachment he had for Prince Potemkin, he had borne more from Nassau than he could have done "from any other than a madman." Littlepage was appointed to a command in the squadron, and soon found that it is much easier to give good advice at a distance, than to act under such temperate counsels. He did at once what every man of spirit and common sense would have done,—threw up his command and returned to Warsaw. The words in which he bade Jones farewell show that he thoroughly understood the nature of the generally worthless, and

of time, and I sent off a transport ship with officers and men on this duty.

" His Highness the Prince-Marshal now made his troops advance. They passed the Bog, and appeared in sight of us, on the banks of the Liman, on the 27th of June; and next morning the Capitan Pacha made his grand fleet, which had always remained at anchor twenty or thirty

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always discordant persons, whether Greeks, Russians, Cossacks, or other tribes of which this heterogeneous mass was composed. " Farewell, my dear Admiral; take care of yourself, and look to whom you trust. Remember that you have rather to play the part of a politician than a warrior,—more of a courtier than a soldier." " I was not skilled" says Jones, " in playing such a part." " I never neglected my duty," he says again, " when stung with the insolent reproaches, or rather the threats, of Potemkin. On the contrary, I had but too often exposed myself to personal danger to satisfy his caprice." In another place, when Potemkin had addressed an order to him, concluding thus,—" Moreover, if the enemy attempt to pass to Oczakow, prevent him at all hazards, and defend yourself boldly," Jones says, " It is not easy to believe that such words were addressed to Paul Jones."

verstes without Kinbourn, weigh anchor, and directed his course towards the entrance of the Danube, carrying three Admiral's flags, and followed by all the vessels that had escaped us in the Liman. During the whole time that we were exposed to having a serious affair with the Turks, Brigadier Alexiano had carefully kept a Greek felucca of eighteen oars alongside the Wolodimer. This felucca was better built for sailing than any of the other chaloupes or rowing vessels belonging to the whole squadron, so that he had at all times the means of saving himself in case of any disastrous event. Even the Prince of Nassau, since his retreat on the 6th of June, was never seen in any vessel of the flotilla, but always in a chaloupe, which had been built for the especial use of her Imperial Majesty on her late voyage. For myself, I took no such precautions. I saw that I must conquer or die. For me there was no retreat. The instant that Alexiano saw the troops appear, he despatched his felucca to inform the Prince-Marshal that it was he, in his zeal for the service, who had employed people to save the effects of the burnt prizes. Nothing

could be less true. He had not taken the smallest concern in the matter. But this shows the character of the man. Next day I was informed that the transport ship I had employed on this service was already too heavily laden, and made a great deal of water. As the wind was fair for Glauboca, I gave orders that she should immediately go thither to unload. Some hours after the departure of the transport, Brigadier Alexiano returned from Kinbourn, where he had dined, and said several impertinent things to me on the subject of the transport. He went afterwards to head-quarters to complain of me to the Prince-Marshal. In consequence of this complaint I received a letter from his brigadier *du jour,* the Chevalier Ribas, which, among other things, mentioned that the Prince-Marshal was "singularly severe and strict in all that related to the orders he gave." I replied, that I was not afraid of the severity of the Prince-Marshal, as I had done nothing save my duty, in pursuance of his own orders.*

* After this affair, Jones seems to have completely lost all self-command. He had no longer any hope of con-

Next day I paid a visit to the Prince of Nassau. I imagined I should be welcomed with open arms;

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ciliating the Prince of Nassau, and accordingly henceforth waged against him a determined and not very generous hostility. The following letter, addressed to Ribas, was certainly intended for the perusal of Potemkin. It is one of almost open defiance:—

"On board the Wolodimer, before Oczakow, 1st August, 1788.

"Sir,—Having been at Kinbourn this afternoon, to concert operations with the Commandant-General, I received at my return here a kind of note without date, which purports to be from you, but which I do not recognise as your hand-writing. This note adverts to the question of saluting the flag of the Vice-Admiral; but I am not aware if there be an officer of this rank nearer us than St Petersburgh. I highly respect the authority and the power of his Highness the Prince-Marshal. I love good order, and I am devoted with enthusiasm to the welfare of the empire, but the first duty of a man is to guard his own honour.

"I have no wish to speak of myself, but circumstances demand it. I was living in America in the bosom of peace and friendship when his Excellency, M. de Simolin, did me the honour, unknown to myself, to propose me to her Imperial Majesty and the Prince-Mar-

but he attacked me about the transport-ship, which belonged, he said, to his flotilla. I re-

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shal as Commander-in-Chief on the Black Sea. I was too much flattered by the reception of her Majesty to stipulate the slightest condition on entering her service. She deigned to receive me. I was to serve only under the command of the Prince-Marshal.

"I imagined myself intended for another command than that which was given me; but I looked on the change as a flattering proof of the confidence of the Prince-Marshal. Never, probably, did any commanding officer commence service under circumstances more painful; but, in spite of the restraints imposed on me by treacherous colleagues, in spite of their unceasing efforts to draw me into error, and their opposition to all my plans, I have extricated myself from the affair with no sacrifice save of my own feelings and interests. I was a true philosopher, and the service has not suffered. My firmness and integrity have supported me against those detestable snares laid by my enemies for my ruin; yet I have served as the cat's paw to draw the chestnuts from the fire for them.

"I am much flattered by the Order of St Anne granted me for my zealous services; but I should have been ashamed to receive brilliant rewards for false, empty boasts.

"As I can never think of having any connexion with

plied, that I had been charged with this duty by the Prince-Marshal; that all the ships of war

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a man so detestable as M. de Nassau, I can never acknowledge him for my superior. If he has received the rank of Vice-Admiral, I will say in the face of the universe that he is unworthy of it. It is now ten years since he wished to serve under my command. I have known him without fully understanding his character. I knew that he was foolish, (*bête,*) but I was not aware, till it was proved to me, that the only military merit he possesses is a mean effrontery. The only thing he has done, was (after the affair of the 17th June) to snatch the flag of the Capitan Pacha from the hands of the Saporoses, who had got it a long time before he came up. He has never shown either order or intelligence in managing the flotilla. Every Commander of a boat, or other vessel, was his own master, and conducted matters according to his own notions."

The letter goes on to describe the action of the 17th June, and then continues:—

"A single galley, in the hands of a good officer, would, in like circumstances, have been sufficient to conquer a ship of the largest size. But we should be just to the Commander of the flotilla. He always had the prudence to keep behind his men; and in critical moments he always had in his mind, and sometimes on

and transports belonged to her Imperial Majesty; and that the vessel in question, being unem-

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his lips, ways and means of retiring beyond the batteries of Stanislaus. He well knew that for me there was no retreat. In the affair between the flotillas, on the 7th of June, there was something like military combination; but it is not to him this should be attributed. If he had been left to himself, he would have been beaten at least as disgracefully as he had been chased by the Turks on the preceding evening. As to the affair of the 17th June, of the merits of which he so greatly boasts, the Turks got into confusion the moment they saw our squadron under sail and advancing to attack them. They had set sail, and the rout was general even before the whole of our flotilla had raised their anchors. The Turkish squadron had made no arrangement for fight, but fled in the greatest disorder and trepidation at the very commencement. I had given orders to advance near the vessel of the Capitan Pacha, but M. Alexiano thwarted me, and cast anchor without my orders, at the moment when the second Turkish ship (the Admiral) was striking.

" The Turkish flotilla was manœuvred with more skill upon the shallows on the right flank of our squadron, from whence they threw bombs, and sunk the small frigate, the Petit Alexander. The commander of our flotilla had paid no attention to my request to send a

ployed at the time when I took it, I could not perceive the smallest cause of complaint. He

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detachment of the flotilla to dislodge them. The Brigadiers Alexiano and Corsacoff had assembled and brought forward batteries for this purpose, according to my orders, in concert with our frigates on the right wing. The affair of the 18th was the result of panic, and of the batteries which, in concert with you, (Ribas,) I had the credit of establishing at the point of Kinbourn. A very small detachment would have been sufficient to have secured the nine vessels under the cannon of our batteries, and out of the reach of those of the enemy. A good officer, who had commanded such an expedition, would have known how to bring in these nine vessels, without having exposed his people to destruction, and without having the folly to destroy ships of which we stood so much in need, by brandcougles.

" I could not leave my own duties to be present at this affair; but I am told that some who were there inquired if M. de Nassau had not been at Kinbourn during the attack.

" After all, we owe our success to favourable circumstances, to the good disposition, and the imposing appearance of our squadron in advancing to the attack on the 17th June; for the enemy had taken flight before the approach of our flotilla, which was tardy in weighing an-

was beside himself with anger; but, as the good of the service no longer required our combined

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chor, and got into confusion from the beginning of the movement. It has been seen meanwhile that M. de Nassau, who did nothing, and who had not a single man wounded near him, has been rewarded as if he had performed the most heroic actions. Marshal Saxe said to his troops,—'I am not one of those ——— generals who cry to their soldiers, FALL ON! I say to mine,—My soldiers, behold the enemy,—LET US FALL ON.' M. de Nassau has not shown that he is of the opinion of the Marshal. Never was bravado more impudent than that of M. de Nassau. To depart from truth costs him nothing. He had the effrontery to deceive the Prince-Marshal (to whom he owes the bread that he eats) in saying he had burnt six ships of the line and had taken two. These pretended ships of the line were nothing other than the merchant vessels called caravellas. In time of peace they trade between Constantinople and Egypt; in time of war such ships are armed, but always badly. In place of eight but four entered the Liman. I have made Lieutenant Fox measure the length of two of the largest; the one was 135 feet, the other 130 feet English measure," &c. &c. &c. The Rear-Admiral proceeds,—"In place of two there was but one three-masted ship that escaped burning. It is true, that there was likewise

operations, I thought this quarrel too childish to give myself uneasiness about it. I took leave of him, begging him to reflect, that I had given him no cause of displeasure. I did not wish to come to a rupture with him; but, on the 1st of July, seeing the day dawn, and that the flotilla was still far too distant to make the necessary attack, meeting him in his chaloupe, I asked 'If he did not think it time to begin the attack?'—'Is it of me you thus inquire?' he replied; 'I have nothing to say to you on the

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spared, in the barbarous conflagration of the 18th June, a small brigantine. We must then consider this small brigantine as a ship of the line taken by M. de Nassau. This prize remained, and has been totally wrecked. Humanity recoils with indignation and horror from seeing so many wretched creatures perish in the flames without any necessity. But these are trifling marks of goodness of heart and of gratitude which M. de Nassau has been pleased to show, to prove that he is worthy of the benefits he has lately received from Constantinople. Now he is with Russia, and in that he finds his advantage. The same motives, however, which have induced him to come here may lead him back to Constantinople."

subject.' After a reply so uncivil, and so publicly made, it was impossible I could have any farther intercourse with the Prince of Nassau.

" On the 18th June, in giving an account to the Prince-Marshal of the fate of the nine vessels run aground in coming out of the Liman, upon the shallows opposite the battery and blockfort on the tongue of land of Kinbourn, I took the liberty to propose to him to get the Wolodimer, which had port-holes for seventy pieces of cannon, and the large frigate Alexander, which might have carried fifty pieces, completely armed, that at the first opportunity the squadron of Cherson might join that of Sevastopole ; but his Highness gave no orders for this purpose till the month of September ; and the Admiralty was so slow in acting, that the vessels were not equipped by the 18th October, when I was recalled to St Petersburgh by an order from her Imperial Majesty.

" The fleet of the Capitan Pacha having sailed on the 28th of June, had a rencounter with that of Sevastopole, which had come out some days before ; but the Turkish fleet being much stronger than that of Russia, the latter fled, and

had the good fortune to get back to Sevastopole without loss, having no more than six or seven men killed and wounded, which shows that the affair was neither close nor warm.

" After the affair of the 18th of June, the greater part of our flotilla remained several days at anchor between Kinbourn and the block-fort upon the tongue of land. It is surprising that the Russian seamen and pilots could be so profoundly ignorant respecting the anchorage, currents, and depth of the Liman, and, above all, of the channel and the road between Oczakow and Beresane. At first not a single commander in the flotilla durst venture to cast an anchor.

" Being at Kinbourn on the 28th June, General Suwaroff spoke to me of the unpleasant circumstance of not being able to cut off the communication between Oczakow and Beresane. Having sounded myself, I informed him that this was quite as practicable as it was useful to the service, and I would place the frigates there instantly if he would only require me to do so. He did not hesitate, and the same day I placed three frigates there. M. Alexiano did all he could to prevent

me; and when he saw the frigates set off, prophesied that I would never see them return. He carried his intrigues so far, that the Prince-Marshal wrote me a warning letter on the 29th, and on the 1st July a peremptory order to withdraw them. During the short time they were there they took two Turkish armed chaloupes and a batteau laden with powder and shot; and cut off the enemy's communication between Oczakow and Beresane.

" The Prince-Marshal had not been satisfied with the conduct of the flotilla in the affair of attacking Oczakow on the 1st July, which was conducted in a very irregular manner, and at too great a distance. The most advanced charge was that of the battery commanded by M. Akmatoff, who was never less than 900 toises distant from the enemy.

" On the 10th of July the Prince-Marshal sent the Prince of Nassau to Sevastopole, to learn if the squadron had been much damaged in the rencounter with the Turkish fleet. Immediately after the departure of the Prince of Nassau, the Prince-Marshal gave the Chevalier Ribas the

command of the flotilla, with orders to go to Kinbourn, to receive on board the troops he destined to make a descent on the island of Beresane. At the same time he ordered me to establish a line of blockade between that island and Oczakow. I stationed five frigates, carrying eighteen-pounders, in the roads for this purpose.

"On the 14th I was ordered to inspect the entrance of the Liman. I immediately went to Kinbourn to have an understanding with General Suwaroff and the Brigadier de Ribas. Though the Brigadier had been incessantly occupied since the departure of the Prince of Nassau in bringing the crews of the flotilla to some sort of order, he had not yet completed this task. So great was the confusion that reigned, that he could not find in any vessel five soldiers belonging to the same company; and the officers knew not where to look for their men. This retarded the embarkation of the troops destined for the descent on Beresane till the 16th. The Prince-Marshal was so much displeased with this delay, that on the 17th he gave orders to land the troops, that they might join his army before Oczakow, and

that the flotilla should again pass into the Liman, as well as the frigates I had posted for the blockade.

" From the commencement of the projected expedition against Beresane, M. Ribas had requested me to conduct the flotilla and the descent of the troops. Though a man of much talent, he had not the misplaced conceit of some persons who readily take upon them things far beyond their capacity. I told him, ' He well knew I ought to have commanded the flotilla as well as the squadron, from the beginning of the campaign, but that my gratitude for the gracious reception accorded me by her Imperial Majesty, together with the very delicate state in which I had found affairs, had induced me to sacrifice my feelings, and even greatly to hazard my reputation, for the good of the empire; that I could never so far humble myself as to request the command of the flotilla, but if it were given me by the Prince-Marshal, I would do my best to make the most of it possible.'

" On the afternoon of the 17th the Prince-Marshal fairly proposed to give me the command

of the flotilla. His Highness informed me his intention was to have Oczakow attacked a second time. I replied, that I was disposed to execute with zeal whatever he might think proper for the good of the service; but that to attack with advantage it was necessary to come to close quarters, and to advance in better order than on the 1st July. He was of the same opinion, and requested me to come ashore next day, that we might concert together the plan of attack.

"I did not fail to comply with the orders of the Prince-Marshal, but his Highness spoke no more of the flotilla. I remained to dinner and supper, and afterwards returned on board of my ship.

"The Prince of Nassau having returned some days before, had intrigued with the Prince de Ligne; and the Prince-Marshal restored him to the command of the flotilla.

"On the 18th June I had been ordered to despatch the five frigates which had returned into the Liman, to be refitted at Glouboca, *en batterie*. I sent them off at daybreak on the 19th, having drawn the greater part of their crews from the gun-boats and bomb-vessels which the

Prince-Marshal had placed under my command. On the 20th I received twenty-one gun-boats, each carrying a single piece, from eighteen to thirty-two pounders; and five bomb-vessels, each carrying a mortar, of which four were of three *poods*, and one of five *poods*.* The same day the Prince-Marshal having established his head-quarters to the right of his army upon the shores of the Black Sea, (he had hitherto been on the shores of the Liman, on the left wing,) pointed out to me two of the enemy's gun-boats, stationed close by the fort of Hassan Pacha, and the Turkish lines on the side of Beresane. He was persuaded that they would attempt to come out during the night with despatches, and inquired of me if it were not possible to capture them. As his Highness appeared to attach great importance to this service, I undertook it.

"I returned on board the Wolodimer, from whence, at eight in the evening, I set off with five armed chaloupes. I made five gun-boats follow, as a measure of precaution in case the

* A *pood*, or *poud*, is a Russian weight, equal to 36 lbs. English weight.

Turks had attempted to make a sortie, as their chaloupes sailed much faster than ours.

"I found one of the Turkish gun-boats aground, hauled up, and almost dry on the sands adjoining the battery, and on an intrenchment the enemy had cast up on the water's edge. It was impossible to get it afloat under the terrible fire which we sustained from all the lines and batteries on the shore. The other gun-boat lay hard by the fort of Hassan Pacha, to the south. Lieutenant Edwards boarded this vessel, and cut her cables; but having had several of his men wounded, and being deserted by one of the chaloupes, he was obliged to give up the attempt, lest he should be left by the other chaloupe also. During this time I had made some efforts to get the other Turkish boat afloat. I now rowed quickly to the assistance of Mr Edwards, but the night being dark, he was already out of sight. I boarded the vessel in which he had been. I had several men wounded around me; but, in defiance of the enemy, I hauled the vessel out, and stationed it right opposite the head-quarters of the Prince-Marshal.

" On the 21st, at daybreak, I sailed with the Wolodimer, followed by all the vessels of the squadron that yet remained with me, and twenty-five armed boats and bomb-vessels that had been placed under my command. The object of this movement was again to blockade Oczakow by sea, and to cut off the communication between that place and Beresane. To accomplish this object, I stationed the Wolodimer and the Alexander to blockade the channel at the entrance of the Liman, and I continued the same line of blockade into the road, by placing the smaller vessels there. As the bomb-vessels and gun-boats had not water-casks, the Prince-Marshal, who wished to see these craft opposite his head-quarters, made wells be dug on shore for the accommodation of the crews; and on the 24th ordered my officer *du jour* to have three vessels stationed near the shore. I knew nothing of this change, for I had placed them the previous night, in line, and far enough off to be in safety. On the 25th the wind was from the south, but was not violent. After dinner I went to head-quarters to make a visit to the Prince-Marshal, and found, to my

great astonishment, that half the boats were cast ashore, and the other half in the greatest danger. I set to work instantly, with my chaloupe, to haul off, and bring to anchor all the vessels possible; and by means of anchors and cables, for which I sent to the squadron, we saved them all, except six gun-boats, which went to pieces, and filled with sand. On the 26th the Prince-Marshal wrote me by his Brigadier *du jour*, requiring to know, since I was master of the vessels saved, what I meant to do with them? I placed them near the tongue of land of Kinbourn, where they had a sheltered haven, and also wells for the accommodation of the men. They sustained no farther injury during the time they remained under my command. After this, two chaloupes or small cutters were placed under my orders, of which each carried two licornes, forty-eight pounders, in the fore-part, and six falconets on the sides. Shortly afterwards I got two larger cutters, carrying each two mortars, of five poods.

"On the 31st July, the Capitan Pacha again made his appearance with his fleet, followed by

several vessels which he had not when he went off. His advanced guard, composed of his frigates, bomb-vessels, and small craft, cast anchor near Beresane, whilst his large squadron of ships of the line resumed their old position. The Prince-Marshal ordered me to bring back my small vessels to assist in blocking up the passage of the Liman; and the Prince of Nassau was ordered to block up the road with his flotilla, and thus cut off the communication of the Turkish small vessels by the shallows to the south of Fort Hassan Pacha.

"The Prince of Nassau hoisted a Vice-Admiral's flag on one of the galleys in coming out of the Liman, and that galley having passed under the stern of the Wolodimer on the 1st of August, he assumed that I ought to have saluted him as Vice-Admiral!"

[The Rear-Admiral here enumerates six different special reasons for not saluting the said flag; and we fear somewhat tediously, for which reason we spare the reader this concatenation; the only important fact being, that the Prince of Nassau endeavoured to make the Court of Russia

believe that the denial of this piece of courtesy was the only subject of dispute between himself and Paul Jones. We again resume the narrative.]

" The Capitan Pacha came out from day to day, to sound and reconnoitre, in his kirlangitz, which sailed like the wind, and always displayed an Admiral's flag. As the block-fort and battery on the tongue of land at Kinbourn were only constructed of bags of sand, and were neither protected by ditch nor palisade, I was afraid that the Capitan Pacha might try to carry them by a sudden descent, which he could have done by landing five hundred men.

" General Suwaroff had been dangerously wounded in a sortie made by the garrison of Oczakow, and had come to Kinbourn. I convinced him that the block-fort and battery were menaced, and as he had a greater quantity of chevaux de frize than he required, I suggested that he should employ what was superfluous in surrounding the block-fort and battery. The General gave orders accordingly, and I ranged all my gun-boats and bomb-vessels right by the strip of ground be-

tween the block-fort and the battery. The sand served them as a parapet, so that there was a line of fire continued from the point on to the battery. The small craft were, besides, always ready to change their position at the first movement of the enemy, and I placed the squadron so advantageously as to communicate with the block-fort and the battery, without confining their fire, and to keep back the enemy by a cross-fire, on entering the channel of the Liman; so that, though we were very weak compared with the Turkish fleet, the Capitan Pacha never either attempted to make a descent, or to force the passage of the entrance of the Liman.

"The Prince-Marshal having ordered Rear-Admiral Wognowitch to sail from Sevastopole with the fleet under his command, and that officer having raised obstacles because his force was not, he conceived, powerful enough to attack that under the command of the Capitan Pacha, his Highness sent me a letter, written by his chief secretary, Brigadier Popoff, on the 19th August, (old style,) proposing that I should go to Sevastopole to take command of the fleet. It

may be remembered that I was brought to Russia to command *all* the naval force in the Black Sea, consequently this proposition did not surprise me. Had the Prince-Marshal ordered me to go, I would have proceeded immediately, but I could not seem as if I sought to be sent. In the *first* place, the naval signals used in that fleet were imperfect and very limited. *2dly*, My naval signals had not yet been translated into the Russian language, as no attention had been given to my request for a person capable of translating them. *3dly*, I was acquainted with no one in the fleet, and I was aware that the Prince-Marshal wished that it should come out the very day after my arrival at Sevastopole. *4thly*, The fleet had been compelled to fly before that of the Capitan Pacha, at a time when he had two thousand fewer good seamen. *5thly*, The fleet at Sevastopole was much as before, but that of the Capitan Pacha was stronger in craft, and had all the men replaced that had been lost in the affair of the Liman. *6thly*, I had just received preparatory orders from the Prince-Marshal to attack Fort Hassan Pacha; and I hoped to show him

the difference between my fashion of attack and that of the 1st of July. I replied, in answer to his letter, that being entirely devoted to the good of the state, his Highness would find me eager to fulfil his orders. It was said, that some days afterwards the Prince-Marshal sent positive orders to Admiral Wognowitch to come out, but that he always found means for not coming to close quarters with the Capitan Pacha.

" On the 30th August the Turks took a small lodka, freighted with water-melons, belonging to the merchants of Kinbourn. In coming down the Liman the people on board had been foolish enough to pass too close to Oczakow.

" To '*punish the Turks*' for this, the Prince of Nassau, at evening, made his flotilla advance to assault Oczakow!

" I sent my secretary to head-quarters, and in the meanwhile assembled the commanders of divisions of my gun-boats and bomb-vessels, and ordered them to bring forward their divisions, and form in line of battle between the squadron and Oczakow, ready to attack the Fort of Hassan Pacha the moment orders should arrive.

" Upon the return of the Capitan Pacha, M. Littlepage, Chamberlain to the King of Poland, being then with the Prince-Marshal, had solicited and obtained leave to command a division of my gun-boats.

" Night being come on, the chiefs of division wishing to bring forward their boats, found that thirteen of them had quitted their posts, against the most positive orders to make no movement without their commanders of division. This movement had been occasioned by the rashness of a Greek Lieutenant belonging to the division of M. Littlepage. The boat of this officer had fired eight shots against the place, and another boat six shots, but no one else had fired. As this Lieutenant was the most to blame, I deprived him of his command, and sent him to head-quarters, which was required by the Prince-Marshal.

" The Prince of Nassau, who had very idly wasted a great deal of ammunition, pretended that my boats had prevented him from taking the whole Turkish flotilla !

" The Greek Lieutenant whom I had disgraced, instead of being punished, was promoted to the

command of a double chaloupe, heavily armed. M. Littlepage gave a particular account of the whole affair in a letter to the Grand General of Poland.

"A few days after this, the Prince-Marshal sent Rear-Admiral Mordwinoff on board the Wolodimer, to assemble all the captains and master pilots of the squadron to hold a council on the means of effecting a junction between the squadron of Cherson and the fleet of Sevastopole. It has been said that the Prince-Marshal had earnestly entreated this officer to take the affair upon himself, and that he had positively declined it. I can say nothing on this head; I only know that it was a delicate step in relation to me, to send another officer on board my ship to hold a council; and, above all, without having apprized me either by speech or writing. If I had been stickling, I would have put this officer under arrest, as he could show no authority nor precedent for holding a council where I commanded. But as I was influenced by the good of the service above every personal consideration, I received Admiral Mordwinoff most amicably, and after

dinner assembled the officers for the necessary consultation. Many difficulties presented themselves to their minds against the proposed junction; but as it was known that the Prince-Marshal was determined on the measure, it was agreed that it could not be effected but at Hagdge-bay, upon the coast, between Beresane and the Danube, at the distance of fifty verstes* from the point of Kinbourn. I raised no obstacle. I only observed, that since it was pressingly necessary to beat the advanced guard of the enemy before we could effect the proposed junction, it was indispensable to station the squadron previously in the road of Oczakow, and to sail from thence with the wind from N. to N.N.W., to avoid being attacked on the way by the grand fleet of the Turks, and also to keep to the leeward till the junction was effected.

"It was only a few days previously that preparations had been begun to complete the arming of the Wolodimer and Alexander.

"During this time her Imperial Majesty had

* A verste is equal to 3500 English feet.

sent twenty-four gold swords to head-quarters, to be distributed among the officers on account of the battle of the Liman. The Prince-Marshal himself received a gold sword, enriched with diamonds and emeralds; and the Prince of Nassau got one ornamented with a row of diamonds. There were a number of silver medals sent at the same time to be distributed among the soldiers and seamen. The swords had not yet been distributed, but the medals were all given to the men of the flotilla, and not one to any man in the squadron. It is usual to give subalterns the more merit the more they are exposed to personal danger. The crews of the squadron had often hauled the flotilla totally uncovered, and exposed to the fire of the enemy, whilst the people of the flotilla were screened by parapets made of bags of wool, by which the vessels were surrounded.

"On the 18th September I received a secret order from the Prince-Marshal to attack the advanced-guard of the enemy, anchored under Beresane. His Highness proposed to make the attack with the five frigates which had been sent to Glouboca to be mounted as batteries: and the

frigates were to be supported by all the other vessels of the squadron, save the Wolodimer and the Alexander, the arming of which went on very slowly on account of difficulties on the part of the Admiralty. Two of the frigates, the Scoroi and the Boristhenes, had already rejoined the squadron. Before the equipments of those frigates were altered, they carried more guns than are ever put, either by the French or English, into ships of the same kind. The Scoroi, for example, carried forty guns, and in England they would not have put more than thirty-two into her. She now carried sixteen 36-pounders, and four licornes, 18-pounders."

[Here follows a detailed account of the armament of this frigate, and the Rear-Admiral's opinion of the best way of arming ships, which he appears himself to think not much to the point, for he returns to the narrative of the campaign by saying as much.]

"The five frigates, of which I have perhaps spoken too much, appeared to me very fit to place behind a stoccado, or bar. But I never would make choice of ships of this kind for the sea-ser-

vice. The first broadside is all that is to be feared from them.

" I replied in writing to the proposition of the Prince-Marshal for attacking the advanced guard of the Turks near Beresane, and afterwards made a plan of attack be drawn out for his inspection. He was much pleased with it. As it was necessary to take advantage of a northerly wind to effect the enterprise, I proposed to the Prince-Marshal to place the frigates in the road as soon as they arrived from Glouboca, to serve, while waiting the attack on the line, as a permanent outer blockade between Oczakow and the enemy. His Highness said it was not yet time for this, and ordered me to place them in a line with the other vessels of my squadron, so as to make an imposing figure in the channel of the Liman.

" In the end of the month, the Turkish fleet set sail in the night, followed by all the vessels that had lain under Beresane; nor did we perceive it till late in the next morning. The Capitan Pacha returned in about thirty-six hours, and resumed the position he had left. The only

difference was, that he brought in some additional small vessels, and that he considerably reinforced his advanced guard under Beresane. As our flotilla, which ought to have blockaded the road, and cut off the communication with the small vessels on that side, were only there occasionally, as if by caprice, it was quite natural for the Turks to profit by its absence, and go out and in when they found the way clear.

" The flotilla being to leeward, between my squadron and Kinbourn, on the 8th October, the Capitan Pacha sent off in the evening three vessels of his advanced guard, which entered Oczakow unmolested, by an open passage. Our flotilla made no movement. I made an attempt to intercept the enemy's progress with my gunboats, which I caused to be hauled to windward by the ship's boats of the squadron. But the wind being high, they could not bring them to attack. Our batteries nearest to Oczakow fired on the three Turkish vessels, but without being able to arrest their progress. It was now dark ; and, moreover, the distance between these batteries and the block-fort, on the side of Kin-

bourn, being seven verstes, the land-batteries never could have prevented either the entrance or exit of small vessels.

" One of the Turkish ships had the folly to cast anchor in the shallows of Fort Hassan Pacha; and at daybreak on the ninth, being within shot of our most advanced land-battery, was struck between wind and water, and run down; the other two vessels got in without difficulty. I have already mentioned, that on the 18th of August I received an order to be in readiness to attack the fortress of Hassan Pacha with my bomb-vessels, and the chaloupes armed with licornes and mortars. I expected from day to day an order for action, and had in consequence bestowed much pains in training my men to the necessary evolutions; but the final orders never arrived.

" The Prince of Nassau having run down my plan of attack, it was set aside; and by a new arrangement, which I was commanded to form with General Muller, Commander-in-chief of Artillery, I was destined to assault the intrenchment, and the Turkish battery on the shore of the road.

" On the 9th of October the flotilla advanced from the shores of Kinbourn, and attacked Oczakow; but this attack was conducted and ended in the very same manner as that of the 30th August, save that a small vessel of the Turkish flotilla, which lay farther out than any of the others, ran aground on the shallows of Fort Hassan Pacha.

" On the 10th of October I received another preparatory order; and soon afterwards was ordered to give up all my gun-boats to the flotilla. Towards evening I went to head-quarters to ascertain what was to be done regarding these boats. The Prince-Marshal at this time told me he had the strongest desire to see pitched overboard a large piece of artillery placed on the fore-part of the vessel of the Turkish flotilla that stood farthest out, and which had run aground. I imagined at the time that there was no other vessel run aground save the one in the road, at the distance of a verste from the fortress of Hassan Pacha; so I said the thing was quite easy; for although the Turks should come up in force to

defend the vessel, there would always be time to spike the piece of cannon.

"It was night when I undertook this little enterprise. As I did not imagine the Prince-Marshal attached so much importance to it as to wish that I should conduct it in person, I confided it to Lieutenant Edwards, a brave and an intelligent man, whom I wished to requite for past services. On the 1st of July he had followed me throughout, and was a long time with me in the galley of the Capitan Pacha. He had followed me on the night of the 20th of July, and had boarded, and cut the cable of the vessel which I took opposite the fortress of Hassan Pacha. He had assisted me some days afterwards, when, by orders of the Prince-Marshal, we made trial of bombarding the fort from one of the bomb-vessels; from which service we had some difficulty in withdrawing, as the wind, which rose in a moment, kept us for a long while under the fire of the enemy's musketry, which wounded some of our men.

"Mr Edwards returned before daybreak, with-

out having succeeded. He said there were a great many men in the ship, who fired on him, and that he durst not board her, he was so ill supported. I was vexed that he had failed; and in my report to the Prince-Marshal I said that I would conduct the enterprise myself next night, if that would satisfy him.

"The Prince-Marshal held me at my word; but it was eleven at night when Mr Edwards returned with the order. The wind, which was high, was quite against me, as well as a strong tide; and I would have deferred the attempt, if I had not conceived my honour pledged. I was led to hope, that after midnight the wind might fall, and the strength of the tide lessen, if it did not change. The night was very dark, and the rain fell in torrents. I waited till two o'clock, when the moon rose. I had with me five armed boats, and I calculated on being followed by four *batteaux saporoses*, and by one of the armed vessels I had taken from the Turks; but it was impossible to haul them against the wind, and I was compelled to go on as I best could, with only my five boats. I have noticed that our flotilla

had run down a small Turkish vessel in the shallows of the fortress of Hassan Pacha, but I did not perceive this till the moment after I had despatched Mr Edwards to head-quarters, because the vessel lay so near the fortress, where the water is of little depth, that it had only sunk a foot or fifteen inches, and consequently appeared as if still afloat. As the Prince-Marshal had only spoken to me of the farthest out of the Turkish flotilla; I now believed he meant the one nearest the fortress, in which idea I was confirmed by Mr Edwards, at his return from head-quarters, telling me he had heard ashore that the vessel run down in the road had been visited, but that nothing had been found there. I rowed for the vessel nearest the fortress, which carried a large cannon in her bow; but, after having fatigued my rowers, I was vexed to see daylight appear, whilst I had still more than a verste to go before I could reach the vessel. I returned on board my own ship, to prevent a useless alarm, intending to renew the attempt next night.

" Without waiting to receive my report, the Prince-Marshal sent me orders ' to abandon the

enterprise, for he had intrusted it to other ships.' There was fine weather on the night between the 12th and 13th, but the 'other ships' did nothing; and the Turks availed themselves of an open way to bring out all their flotilla, which rejoined the ships of the advanced guard under Beresane.

"Some days afterwards, a Colonel of Cossacks boarded the vessel run down in the road, and set fire to it, for which he received public thanks.

"On the 13th the Prince-Marshal wished to establish a permanent line of blockade in the road, by placing my frigates there, and some other small vessels. He wrote me a letter on this subject, which strongly affected me, and to which I replied next day, with perhaps rather too much freedom and warmth.* This occasion-

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* This letter, taken in connexion with the circumstances which preceded it, was the ultimate cause of the dismissal of Paul Jones before the campaign ended. His recall to St Petersburgh, under pretence of being employed in the North Sea, in name of the Empress, but really ordered by Potemkin, was a mere piece of

ed an interchange of letters, which was only terminated on the 18th by the arrival of Admiral

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jugglery to get rid of him, of which he was not even the dupe. The following is an extract of his letter, and a copy of Potemkin's order, which provoked it:—

"*Order to Rear-Admiral Chevalier Paul Jones.*

"As it is seen that the Capitan Pacha comes in his kirlangich from the grand fleet to the smaller vessels, and as before quitting this he may attempt something, I request your Excellence, the Capitan Pacha having actually a greater number of vessels, to hold yourself in readiness to receive him courageously, and drive him back. I require that this be done without loss of time; if not, you will be made answerable for every neglect.

"PRINCE POTEMKIN TAURICIEN.

"13th October, 1788."

To this truly Russian order Jones has affixed the following characteristic note:—"A warrior is always ready, and I had not come there an apprentice." His reply to this order led to his instant dismissal. Potemkin was a person in no shape to be trifled with; and though Jones at first attributed his want of favour in this powerful quarter to the ill offices of those around Potemkin, he

Mordwinoff, to take command of the squadron and the flotilla; for the Prince of Nassau had set

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came to see that much of what he suffered emanated directly from the impatience, jealousy, and caprice of this spoiled tyrant. When the Rear-Admiral went to head-quarters to take leave, Potemkin disdained and disclaimed the insinuation of being influenced by those around him. "Do not imagine any one leads me,—leads me!"—he swore, and stamping with his foot, added, "Not even the Empress!" Fatal as the reply to the above order proved to Jones, and deeply as he regretted it, the reader must be pleased to see that he retained so much of his original spirit as appears in this singular document. "I have always," he says, "conformed myself immediately, without murmuring, and most exactly, to the commands of your Highness; and on occasions when you have deigned to leave any thing to my own discretion, I have been exceedingly flattered, and believe you have had no occasion to repent. At present, in case the Capitan Pacha does resolve on attempting any thing before his departure, I can give assurance beforehand, that the brave officers and crews I have the honour to command will do their duty 'courageously,' though they have not yet been rewarded for the important services they have performed for the empire under my eyes. I

off for Warsaw some days after his affair of the 9th, with which the Prince-Marshal had been much dissatisfied. I at the same time received orders from her Imperial Majesty to go to St Petersburgh to be employed in the North Sea. Sweden had declared war against Russia at the commencement of the campaign, and Admiral Greig, who had commanded the Russian fleet, having died, I was assured her Majesty had very important views in recalling me. Yet I could not but feel grieved to be deprived of my command when the campaign, so far as regarded maritime operations, was so nearly concluded.

"As soon as the Prince of Nassau went off, all the gold swords were distributed among the officers of the flotilla. It may easily be imagined that this transaction, as well as several things

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answer for this with my honour, and will explain myself fairly on this delicate point at the end of the campaign. In the meanwhile, I may merely say, that it is upon the sacred promise I have given them of demanding justice from your Highness in their behalf, that they have consented to stifle their grievances and keep silent."

which preceded it, were not calculated to give me much pleasure. The capture of the Turkish galley, and the boarding the galley of the Capitan Pacha on the 1st of July, were without dispute the most brilliant actions of the campaign of the Liman. The credit of them was most unjustly given to the flotilla, and my officers remained without any reward for the important services which they had rendered in these affairs, laying aside those of the 18th June, the 30th of August, and the 9th of October, from which they reaped no advantage. After the gold swords had been distributed, I myself heard several of the officers who got them express their astonishment, not being able to guess for what they had been so highly rewarded.

"It is worthy of notice, that all the large vessels which the flotilla attacked were previously aground. In this case, they might be compared to men with their feet nailed to planks, and their hands tied behind their backs. This is the only instance in history of ships aground, and out of the possibility of being re-captured, being

attacked and destroyed, with their crews, by combustibles. It may be recollected, that during the whole campaign the flotilla had not taken even one small vessel afloat. Since a very mistaken notion has been formed of the vessels taken in the Liman on the 17th and 18th of June, which have been called "ships of the line," it is but right to say that I made Lieutenant Fox measure the hulls of the two largest, and we found that the size of the one was 130, and of the other 135 feet English in total length, in the line of their first battery. Apply this to naval architecture. Yet the Prince of Nassau had been rewarded in a brilliant manner for "having destroyed six, and captured two *ships of the line.*" The only three-masted vessel which escaped burning upon the 18th June was a corvette of one battery, and four pieces between decks. I had almost forgot that there was one small brigantine of fourteen three-pounders. Such were the two *vessels of the line* that were captured, and the latter was wrecked next day by the carelessness of those who had the charge

of her. In place of eight *vessels of the line*, the Capitan Pacha had come into the Liman with only a detachment of corvettes, or large merchantmen, frigates, bomb-ships, and other craft. Only four of the corvettes carried guns between decks. Of this number was the vessel saved. On one of these four vessels was displayed a square flag; but there was the same on the galley and the kirlangich of the Capitan Pacha. It has been already said that the grand fleet without Kinbourn displayed three Admirals' flags. From the account of the campaign given by the Prince of Nassau, it appears that the Capitan Pacha had lost his best ship, manned with the picked men of his fleet, and his only flag as Grand Admiral, while it is well known that at the end of the campaign he went back to Constantinople with all the ships of the line he had at the commencement of it.

As it had been told me that some ill-intentioned persons in the army had said that I had been deprived of my command because the officers were unwilling to serve under me, I endeavoured to procure testimonials to the contrary, and have

seen with regret that the mind is not always free ; and that it sometimes dare not render homage to truth.*

" The last of the five frigates, called ' Sea Batteries,' did not join the squadron till the 19th of October, and the same day Admiral Mordwinoff placed the line of blockade in the road much farther out than it ever had been, so that the vessels masked the fire of all the guns on shore on both sides." [Here the Rear-Admiral enters into certain professional criticisms on his successor's arrangements, which are neither pe-

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* In the service in which Paul Jones was engaged that was impossible, which in any service requires considerable moral courage. His Russian Secretary drew up for the signature of the officers a testimony in favour of " Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, Chevalier of the Military Order of Merit, the Order of St Anne, and of Cincinnatus ;" which, says the Secretary, they, for *powerful reasons*, declined to subscribe, though they at the same time owned there was nothing in it contrary to *pure truth*. It was drawn up on the very eve of Paul Jones's departure for St Petersburgh. The Captain of his late ship, the Wolodimer, subscribed it, and also one of the other officers.

culiarly interesting, nor yet very good-natured, but which may, nevertheless, be very just. We pass them, and again take up the personal narrative.]

" Having reflected that the season was too far advanced to render my services necessary in the North Sea before the following year, I wrote to the Prince-Marshal, offering to continue my services till the end of the campaign. I was indebted to him for the Order of St Anne, and I have a heart naturally grateful.* He made his Secretary, M. Popoff, write me, that since I was recalled by the order of the Empress, it was necessary I should obey.

" I was, however, invited to head-quarters to take leave, and to receive a letter from the Prince-Marshal for her Imperial Majesty. As I was much interested personally, and still more so in

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* Paul Jones never appears to have had a true idea of the whole character of Potemkin till long afterwards. Potemkin was, indeed, one of the most extraordinary monsters that ever lived,—a jumble of every moral contradiction.

relation to my officers, I after dinner spoke freely, and told M. Popoff all that was on my mind. This gentleman repeated all I said to the Prince-Marshal. He was offended at first, but afterwards he sent for me to talk with him. Without failing in the respect due to him, I spoke very freely. I told him he had played an unfair game at the opening of the campaign in dividing the command in the Liman in the existing circumstances of the country; and that, if I had not resolved to sacrifice my own feelings in order to manage the persons he had given me for colleagues, the campaign would have taken a very different turn. He confessed it, but said it was too late to think of this now. He then said he would be glad to see me fixed in Russia, and that he was disposed to give me *solid proofs of his esteem*, both now and in future. I showed him the testimonial of the Captain of the Wolodimer, and some other papers, to convince him that he had neither done justice to me nor to the squadron. He said the Prince of Nassau pretended all was done by himself; 'but I have never,' said he, 'been deceived in him. I have

always known him for what he is.' He proposed that I should go to Tagenroc to equip and command a squadron he was building there; but, as I had been brought to Russia to take the chief command in the Black Sea, and had received orders from the Empress to repair to St Petersburgh, I declined the offer. I only entreated that he would consider the services of my officers, and give them the seniority they had lost by the promotion of those officers of the flotilla who did not belong to the naval service. Admiral Mordwinoff made the same request, and the Prince promised to do them justice.

"Two days afterwards I received a letter from the Prince-Marshal for the Empress, in which he noticed the zeal and anxiety I had ever shown for her service, and to render myself worthy of her favour.*

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* We give this letter. It is a good specimen of the sort of thing; nor is it possible to believe that a man so acute as Paul Jones was duped or hoodwinked by this fashion of speaking and writing, though for political reasons he suffered himself to appear so:—

"On the 4th November, the Capitan Pacha having withdrawn his advanced guard in the night, set sail in the morning with his whole force, entering first Varna, and afterwards Constantinople, with every ship of the line he had at the opening of the campaign. It is singular that this enterprising commander did not attempt to force the entrance of the Liman; for Admiral Mordwinoff had placed the squadron in so exposed and disadvantageous a situation, that the fire of the land-batteries, which should have flanked him without, was entirely covered. But it may be presumed that the Turkish Admiral believed he

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"MADAM,—In sending to the high throne of your Imperial Majesty Rear-Admiral M. Paul Jones, I take, with submission, the liberty of certifying the eagerness and zeal which he has ever shown for the service of your Imperial Majesty, and to render himself worthy of the high favour of your Imperial Majesty.

"From the most faithful subject of your Imperial Majesty,

"PRINCE POTEMKIN TAURICIEN.

"31st October, 1788."

had done enough for the safety of Oczakow by the succours he had thrown in.

" On the morning of the 7th, agreeably to a secret order from the Prince-Marshal, the *Saporoses* landed, to the number of 2000, on the Island of Beresane. The Turkish garrison being only 300 strong, fired a few random shots, and then surrendered at discretion.

" Having given the officers under me such testimonials as they merited, I embarked on the morning of the 9th November in a small open galley for Cherson. I was three days and three nights on the way, and suffered a great deal from the excessive cold. The day after my arrival the river was frozen in, and I was taken dangerously ill. My health was not sufficiently re-established to enable me to proceed before the 6th of December. Having arrived at St Elizabeth, I received intelligence that Oczakow had been taken by storm on the 6th. The garrison was eleven thousand strong, including the three thousand that the Capitan Pacha had thrown into the place before he sailed. But the cold had become extreme, and the Russian army

being formed in six columns to attack the place at day-dawn, the Turks were completely taken by surprise, and, becoming panic-struck, suffered themselves to be throttled like as many sheep. In the fury of the assault the Russian soldiers spared nothing. I have been assured, that from eighteen to nineteen thousand Turks perished on that day!

"As I wished to delay my return to court till the arrival of the Prince-Marshal, I stopt some days at Skloff, where General Soritsch loaded me with civilities. I arrived at St Petersburgh on the 28th December, and was ordered to appear at court on the 31st, when her Imperial Majesty did me the honour of granting me a private audience. I presented the letter the Prince-Marshal had given me. A few days afterwards the Empress sent me word, through Count de Dmitrijew-Mamonow, that she must wait the arrival of Prince Potemkin before deciding on what was to be done regarding me. In the meanwhile Count Besborodko told me, that a command of greater importance was intended for me than that of the Black Sea.

"On the 1st February, the Prince-Marshal not having yet arrived, I gave in to the Vice-Chancellor, Count d'Osterman, a project for forming an alliance, political and commercial, between Russia and the United States. As the object of this project was reciprocal advantages, and, above all, to encourage the commerce of the Black Sea, and of the new settlements in the Crimea, I had long intended to transmit it to the Prince-Marshal; and on his arrival at court, about the middle of February, I sent him a copy. Some time afterwards he took me into his cabinet, and said that my plan contained some good ideas; but that he did not think it expedient to adopt it at this time, as this might still further irritate the English against Russia, and that it was necessary first to make peace with the Turks.

"I might say a great deal more about the fleet and flotilla of Cherson, but for the present I have said enough." [The Rear-Admiral does, however, say a good deal about the construction and equipment of the Russian ships, and the internal regulations of the Russian navy, which shows much professional acuteness, but must

have small interest now that all is changed. The speculations of a clever and a practical man forty years ago, on the opening prospects of the Russian empire, compared with its actual state, are, however, both curious and important.] "The commerce of the Black Sea," he says, "is an object of very great importance; but this commerce will always be annoyed and often interrupted by the Turks, till Russia has a stronger fleet in the Black Sea to hold them at bay, and to place the keys of Constantinople in the hands of the Empress. Russia having all the requisite materials, in making the necessary arrangements with order and economy (without speaking of war, to avoid exciting suspicion in powers jealous of her glory,) this deficiency might be supplied in a few years. The means of obtaining good seamen is to create a merchant-trade,—to form an alliance with the United States,—and to have a squadron of evolution on the Black Sea, directed by an admiral and a properly-instructed staff.

"I have always believed that Russia requires a port on the Asiatic side, opposite the Crimea,

to protect the fleet in winds and currents, and to be as it were a sentinel-post on the Turks. I have thought of Sinople for this purpose, and I spoke of it to the Empress and Prince Potemkin; but, being afterwards better informed, I found a more suitable situation, where I am certain such a post could be securely established at small cost, and beard the whole Ottoman empire.

" I must be permitted to conclude my journal with some reflections naturally suggested by matters affecting my personal honour. I have never been able to conjecture the reason which made Prince Potemkin order Admiral Mordwinoff to give up to him the official account of our operations, which I had drawn up in conformity to the orders of the Admiralty of the Black Sea, as I was assured he had done, both by Admiral Mordwinoff and his brother-in-law. No more could I guess why Prince Potemkin had given orders that no notice should be taken of the little frigate Alexander, which had been run down in the battle of the 17th June. This information also I had from Admiral Mordwinoff after I had given up to him the command of the squadron. I have

been assured that this frigate was always retained in the list of the marine. When I found that I received no testimony of the favour of the Empress in this affair, and on other occasions very interesting to the state, I was compelled to think that she had been ill-informed, for her ambition is to be esteemed the most magnanimous and the most generous of all sovereigns.*

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* It is no new incident in any service for one man to gain the victory for which another is rewarded. This must sometimes occur from due regard to rank and subordination, even where there is the strongest desire to do strict justice to all the commanders. To the counsels of Varage, Captain Winter, and a Milanese officer, De Litta, the subsequent victory of the Cronstadt fleet over the Swedes, for which Nassau was so highly rewarded, were universally ascribed. The most brilliant and decisive sea-battle ever gained by the Russians, that of Tschesme, where the whole Turkish fleet, a town and castle, were taken or destroyed in one morning, was fought by the English officers, Elphinstone, Greig, and especially Dugdale, who performed prodigies of reckless valour at the greatest personal hazard. Yet the Empress thought fit to attribute the victory to Alexy Orloff, either from po-

" I received a letter from the Minister of the United States (to the Court of Versailles,) dated Paris the 23d March, 1789, which began by telling me, that a letter he had received from me, dated at St Petersburgh, the 31st January, *was the only proof my friends had of my existence since I had left Copenhagen.** If I had played

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licy or want of information. Potemkin himself was never more munificently rewarded for what he had actually accomplished, than was Orloff for a victory of which he obtained the credit. There were great public rejoicings; pillars and palaces were erected, and titles, estates, orders, or whatever the imagination of the Empress could devise to do him honour, were heaped on the murderer of her husband, to whom she had formerly owed a considerable share of her usurped crown.

* In Russia, letters were systematically intercepted. This was part of the policy of the government; and such things have been heard of in that country, even of later date than the reign of Catherine II. When the Archduke Paul was permitted to travel through Europe with the Archdutchess, he was so well aware of the jealousy of his mother and her government, that he arranged a private correspondence to be forwarded to the Swedish post-offices by couriers. His correspondent was a

the part of a cipher in the campaign of the Liman it was for the first time. I either deserved to lose my head, or the history of the operations on the Liman, which had been got up in St Petersburgh during the winter, and which I saw with astonishment in the office of M. Popoff, merited to be burnt. I assert, that it was falsified even to the most trifling circumstances.

" I have acted a public and distinguished part for fifteen years among an enlightened people, where the press is free, and where the conduct of every man is open to discussion, and subjected to the judgment of his fellow-citizens. No man can play the hypocrite during so long a period in a career so trying as was mine. It was natural for the Prince of Nassau and Brigadier Alexiano to be my enemies, for they only sought their

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young aid-de-camp, Bibikoff, who sometimes permitted himself to describe persons about the court without sufficient regard to decorum. Among those honoured with his notice was *One Eye,* as he termed Potemkin. The courier was intercepted at Riga, and Paul's witty correspondent was exiled to Astracan, where he shortly died.

own advantage; and Prince Potemkin, who knew better, did wrong to place me in competition with them; but I cannot conceive how it happened that I had around Prince Potemkin other enemies as powerful as they were malicious. I ought to have found only friends in Russia, for I have served that empire faithfully and well. The manner in which Prince Potemkin has changed in regard to me, since the commencement of the war, exceeds all imagination. While he supposed that my services would be an acquisition in directing the maritime operations against the Turks, the Admirals Mordwinoff and Woinowitch entirely lost his confidence as officers; and it is evident that Woinowitch had not regained it on the 19th of August, when it was proposed that I should go to Sevastopole to take command of the fleet. When I had the misfortune to offend Prince Potemkin by the freedom of my letter of the 14th October, he sent several couriers, one after another, entreating that Admiral Mordwinoff would take command of the squadron, which the latter only at last accepted on condition of receiving *carte blanche*, and insisted that

the Prince should not interfere in any arrangements he thought fit to make.

"I have mentioned that the Dnieper was frozen over the day after my arrival at Cherson, in consequence of which the squadron and flotilla were placed in danger, from not having been properly secured (for the season) after the departure of the Capitan Pacha. I understood that some of the vessels were lost in the Liman, and that the Wolodimer, to save herself, was obliged to risk the passage to Sevastopole without a good part of her ballast.

"Briefly—in a few days after my departure from Cherson, Admiral Mordwinoff was disgraced and sent from the service, whilst Admiral Woinowitch, who had married the daughter of Alexiano, was placed at the head of the Admiralty, with the chief command of the fleet, and the entire confidence of Prince Potemkin.

"It is said that Russia has no longer need of foreign naval officers. No one is more desirous than myself that this may be so, for I cannot be jealous of any one, and I must ever desire the prosperity of a country I have served. I may,

however, be allowed to notice, that this opinion is not of very ancient date. If this had been believed before the last campaign, why were my services so anxiously sought after?—It assuredly could not have been in compliment to me, nor in order afterwards to make use of me in promoting certain political designs. I have frequently heard, that, since the war broke out with Sweden, measures have been taken to induce Rear-Admiral Kinsbergen to quit Holland, and re-enter the service of Russia. His countrymen allege that he had been offered the rank of vice-admiral, the Order of Alexander Nevsky, and a fixed revenue of 20,000 roubles a-year; and that he had refused all these advantages, as he had lately married a wife with a fortune which enabled him to live in independence in his own country.

"It is known that the King of Sweden made advantageous offers to Admiral Curtis of the English navy, to induce him to take command of the fleet against Russia; and that this officer declined them, not wishing to hazard his professional reputation in command of a fleet which

was not in so good a condition as that of England.

"The Empress will do me the justice to remember, that when I entered her service I did not say one word regarding my personal interests. I have a soul too noble for that; and if my heart had not been devoted to her Majesty, I would never have drawn my sword in her cause. I have now nothing for it but, like Admiral Kinsbergen, to marry a rich wife; but I have sufficient to support me wherever I choose, and I have seen enough of the world to be a philosopher. When I arrived at the Black Sea, if reasons much stronger than those which withheld Admiral Curtis had not influenced my mind and heart, which were devoted to the Empress, I would never have hoisted my flag on board the Wolodimer. I would have refused the poor command offered me, and which was not worthy of me. I have never puffed off my own actions, nor given any piece to the press containing my own panegyric.*

* The pettish tone of some of these remarks affords an

" I respect the names of Kinsbergen and Curtis; but the first duty of a gentleman is to respect his own character; and I believe, without vanity, that the name of Paul Jones is of as much value as theirs. It is thirty years since I entered the navy, and I have had for friends and instructors a d'Orvilliers and a Pavilon. Unfortunately Prince Potemkin never gave himself the trouble to know me.

" I had the happiness to be loved by my officers and men, because I treated them justly, and set them a good example in fight. After I ceased to command, though the campaign only lasted a few days, the seamen soon found the difference. They said they had lost their father: they were immediately served with bad provisions.

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amusing contrast to the affected coolness and indifference of the sentiments they express; but it should be remembered, that, just before this Journal was extended, the man who suffered all the neglect, injustice, and insult which it records, had been irritated to the verge of despair and madness by persecution and injury of a viler and yet more despicable nature. Under the feeling of these wrongs he writes.

"I have already noticed, that Prince Potemkin had promised, in presence of Admiral Mordwinoff, to advance the officers under my command, and to restore to them the seniority they had lost by the promotion of the officers of the flotilla; but I have learnt with much pain that he has not kept his word, and that in consequence my officers, to the number of fifty, have demanded their dismission. Not one of them offered to resign while I held command. Admiral Woinowitch having represented to Prince Potemkin that without these officers the fleet was useless, he was compelled to advance them all. I have been told that they were not yet satisfied, as they were not restored to their seniority, and that they proposed to quit the service at the end of the year. I hope justice will be done them, for they are brave men. For myself I have been marked out from every other officer that served in the Liman; I alone have obtained no promotion, though I commanded and was alone responsible! I may be told that I ought to be satisfied with having received the rank of Rear-admiral on entering the service. I reply, that I

could not have been offered an inferior grade. One officer may deserve as much in a day as another in a lifetime, and every officer ought to be advanced according to his merits. I was not favoured in rank on entering the Russian service. I had a full right to obtain that which I accepted. A man, only twenty-four years of age, has since been received into the service with the rank of major-general. I wish to say nothing against this officer; it is not always years that give skill, much less genius, but he must do a great deal before he has my experience.

" It is painful, for the honour of human nature, to reflect on how many malevolent and deceitful persons surround the great, and particularly crowned heads. I speak from my own unhappy experience. Some persons had the malice to make Prince Potemkin believe that I made unhandsome strictures on his military conduct, and ridiculed his manner of conducting the siege of Oczakow. I have heard a great deal said on this subject, and I am aware that it excited considerable discontent in the army. I was told, during my illness at Cherson, that a thousand of

his officers had demanded their dismission; but I defy any one to say to my face that I ever allowed myself to criticise his operations. I have been strongly attached to him, of which I have given proofs during my command, and even after he unjustly superseded me. There is evidence of this in my letter of the 7th November, at a time when I certainly had reason to complain of his conduct.

"I have been deeply injured by those secret machinations in the opinion of the Empress. My enemies have had the wickedness to make her believe that I was a *cruel* and *brutal* man; and that I had, during the American war, *even killed my own nephew!*

"It is well known, that, from motives of revenge, the English have invented and propagated a thousand fictions and atrocities to stain, wound, and injure the celebrated men who effected the American revolution:—a Washington and a Franklin, two of the most illustrious and virtuous men that have ever adorned humanity, have not been spared by these calumniators. Are they now the less respected on this account

by their fellow-citizens ?—On the contrary, they are universally revered, even in Europe, as the fathers of their country, and as examples of all that is great and noble in the human character.

" In civil wars it is not wonderful that opposite factions should mutually endeavour to make it be believed that each is in the right ; and it is obvious that the party most in the wrong will always be the most calumnious. If there had really been any thing against my character, the English would not have failed to furnish convincing proofs of it. I was known, with very slender means, to have given more alarm to their three kingdoms during the war than any other individual had done.

" I have heard, that, at the period of my entering the Russian service, the English in St Petersburgh cried out against me, and asserted that I had been a contraband trader. All the world knows that men of this description are actuated entirely by avarice ; and every one to whom I have the honour to be known is aware that I am one of the least selfish of mankind. This is known to the whole American people. I

have given proofs of it not easily shown, of which I possess very flattering testimonies. In a letter written on the 29th November, 1782, to Congress, by Mr Morris, minister of the marine and finance departments, after having made my eulogium with the warmth of a true patriot, who thoroughly knew me, he says, that 'I had certainly merited the favour of Congress by services and sacrifices the most signal.' Men do not change their characters in these respects.

"If my heart has bled for the Americans,—above all, for those shut up as victims in English prisons by an act of Parliament as sanguinary as unjust,—if I have exposed my health and my life to the greatest dangers, if I have sacrificed my personal tranquillity and my domestic happiness, with a portion of my fortune and my blood, to set at liberty these virtuous and innocent men,—have I not given proofs sufficiently striking that I have a heart the most tender, a soul the most elevated?—I have done more than all this. So far from being *harsh* and *cruel*, nature has given me the mildest disposition. I was formed for love and friendship, and not to be

a seaman or a soldier, to which I have sacrificed my natural inclination.

" As an officer I love good discipline, which I consider indispensable to the success of operations, particularly at sea, where men are brought into such close contact. In the English navy it is known that captains of ships are often tyrants, who order the lash for the poor seamen very frequently for nothing. In the American navy we have almost the same regulations; but I look on my crew as my children, and I have always found means to manage them without flogging.

" I never had a nephew, nor any other relation, under my command. Happily these facts are known in America, and they prove how cruel and harsh I am. I have one dear nephew,* who is still too young for service, but who now pursues his studies. Since I came to Russia I have intended him for the Imperial marine. Instead of imbruing my hands in his blood he will be cherished as my son.

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* The only son of the Rear-Admiral's eldest sister, the late Mrs Taylor of Dumfries.

"In short, my conduct has obtained for me the returns most grateful to my heart. I have had the happiness to give universal satisfaction to two great and enlightened nations which I have served. Of this I have received singular proofs. I am the only man in the world that possesses a sword given by the King of France. It is to me a glorious distinction to wear it; and, above all, to have received it as a proof of the particular esteem of a monarch so august,—a monarch who has declared himself the Protector of the rights of the human race, and who adds to this glorious title that of citizen! I have indelible proofs of the high consideration of the United States; but what completes my happiness is the esteem and friendship of the most virtuous of men, whose fame will be immortal; and that a Washington, a Franklin, a D'Estaing, a La Fayette, think the bust of Paul Jones worthy of being placed side by side with their own. It is then certain that this is not the bust of one *

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* In the mysterious and now perhaps inexplicable in-

" Since I am found too frank and too sincere to make my way at the Court of Russia without creating powerful enemies, I have philosophy enough to withdraw into the peaceful bosom of friendship; but, as I love virtue better than reward, and as my greatest ambition is to preserve,

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trigue set on foot at the return of Paul Jones from the Liman, to ruin him personally in the good opinion of the Empress, for he had been professionally sacrificed before, it appears, by a passage following the above extravagant self-eulogium, (which we can only pardon in an indignant and persecuted man,) that accusations had been insinuated against him of a yet darker and more revolting character than the alleged murder of his nephew and the violation of a girl. Had not the latter calumny already been made public, as Paul Jones takes no notice of it in his Journal, we would scarce have polluted our pages by reference to it. The circumstance, however, has been noticed by Count Segur, and adverted to by the American biographer; and as we possess ample means from his papers, and the testimony of Segur and Littlepage, of establishing his innocence in this affair, it is noticed. Indeed this absurd charge died away before he left Russia, though stated by the historian of Catherine II. as the cause of his being driven from that country!

even in the shades of retreat, the precious favour of the Empress, I may tell her Majesty, that, even in the midst of my persecutions, my mind was occupied by plans for the essential advancement of her service, of which I gave some idea to her minister in June last (1789.) I have not entered into details, for there are politicians who before now have robbed me of my military plans. I have other projects in view from which the flag of Russia might derive new lustre, and which would cause but little expense to her Majesty at the outset, and perhaps nothing in the end, if I had the direction; for I would be able to make war support war. Whatever be the issue, I have the satisfaction of having done my duty in Russia, and that without any views of self-interest. It is affirmed, that, in general, strangers who come to Russia are adventurers in search of fortune, not having the means of living in their own country. I cannot say as to this; but I at least hope that the Empress will not class me with those.

"Briefly, I am satisfied with myself; and I have the happiness to know, that, though my

enemies may not be converted into friends, my name will nevertheless be always respected by worthy men who know me; and it is to me a satisfaction and a signal triumph at the moment of my leaving Russia, that the public, and even the English in St Petersburgh, with whom I had no connexion, have now changed their sentiments in regard to me, give me their esteem, and regret my departure.

"St Petersburgh, 29th July, 1789."

END OF THE JOURNAL OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE LIMAN.

CHAPTER II.

A BRIEF notice of Russian affairs is perhaps necessary to enable the reader to form a correct opinion of the conduct of Paul Jones during this period.

The whole history of the campaign, so far as it regards Paul Jones, is comprehended in the character of Potemkin. He had provoked the war with Turkey from motives that his extraordinary character render credible, though in relation to any other individual they would remain unworthy of belief. Already loaded with titles, honours, dignities, and crosses of almost all the European orders, he still secretly longed for the grand ribbon of the Order of St George, an order instituted by the Empress. To dismember the Ottoman empire still farther, and procure this distinction, a war was to be provoked by intrigues, bribery, and the promotion of intestine divisions

in the Turkish dominions; and when all was prepared, by the insolence of the Russian envoys and consuls, and the barefaced violation of existing treaties, the discredit of actual aggression was artfully thrown on the Porte. Russia had already virtually made war, but the Turks first declared hostilities. The person to whom the conduct of the war on the part of Russia was confided,—Field-Marshal Prince Potemkin,—was one of the most extraordinary men of his own or of any age. If ever great genius be allied to madness it was so in the wildly-organized mind of Potemkin. The Prince de Ligne, who had closely examined his character, and Count de Segur, who long knew him intimately, and watched him strictly, have both left portraits of this singular personage, which, though French in their tone and colouring, give a tolerable idea of the *exterior* of the man on whose interests and caprices the fate of the Russian empire as well as of Paul Jones depended. Neither the acute Austrian, de Ligne, nor the manners-seizing Frenchman, de Segur, held, however, a plummet-line of sufficient length to sound all the depths of Potemkin's character.

The Prince de Ligne saw a great deal of "the Prince," as he was called, during the stately progress of the Empress in 1787, and afterwards at head-quarters during the campaign of 1788. His sketch of an unparalleled original, which was written exactly at the time when Potemkin was in daily contact with Paul Jones, commences thus:—"I here behold a commander-in-chief who looks idle and is always busy; who has no other desk than his knees, no other comb than his fingers; constantly reclining on his couch, yet sleeping neither in the night nor in day-time. His zeal for the Empress he adores keeps him incessantly awake and uneasy; and a cannon-shot, to which he himself is not exposed, disturbs him with the idea, that it costs the life of some of his soldiers; trembling for others, brave for himself; stopping under the hottest fire of a battery to give orders, yet more an *Ulysses* than an *Achilles;* alarmed at the approach of danger, frolicksome when it surrounds him; dull in the midst of pleasure; unhappy in being too fortunate; surfeited with every thing; easily disgusted, morose, inconstant; a profound

philosopher, an able minister, a sublime politician, or like a child of ten years of age; not revengeful; asking pardon for a pain he has inflicted; quickly repairing an injustice; thinking he loves God when he fears the devil, whom he fancies still greater and bigger than himself; waving one hand to the females that please him, and with the other making the sign of the cross; embracing the feet of a statue of the Virgin, or the alabaster neck of his mistress; receiving numberless presents from his sovereign, and distributing them immediately to others; accepting estates of the Empress and returning them, or paying her debts without her knowledge."* The

* This is pure fiction. Potemkin would never, if possible, pay his own debts. When any one came to demand payment, Popoff his secretary was asked why that man was not paid? but, by a preconcerted signal, (the Prince closing his hand,) the secretary was given to understand that no payment was intended to be made: when, on the contrary, he opened his hand, which was more rarely, the debt was to be discharged. The Empress had often paid his debts. His rapacity exceeded his profusion.

Prince de Ligne proceeds in the same strain of antithesis:—" Gambling from morn to night, or not at all; preferring prodigality in giving to regularity in paying; prodigiously rich, and not worth a farthing; abandoning himself to distrust or to confidence, to jealousy or to gratitude, to ill-humour or to pleasantry; talking divinity to his generals and tactics to his bishops; never reading, but sifting every one with whom he converses, and contradicting to be better informed; uncommonly affable or extremely savage; affecting the most attractive or the most repulsive manners; appearing by turns the proudest satrap of the East, or the most polished courtier of Louis XIV.; concealing under the appearance of harshness the greatest benevolence of heart; whimsical with regard to time, repasts, rest, and inclinations; like a child, wanting to have every thing, or like a great man, knowing how to do without many things; sober, though seemingly a glutton; gnawing his fingers, or apples and turnips; scolding or laughing; mimicking or swearing; engaged in wantonness or prayers; singing or meditating; calling or

dismissing; sending for twenty aides-de-camp, and saying nothing to any of them; bearing heat better than any man, while he seems to think of nothing but the most voluptuous baths; not caring for cold, though he appears unable to exist without furs; always in his shirt without drawers, or in rich regimentals embroidered on all the seams; barefoot, or in slippers embroidered with spangles; wearing neither hat nor cap; it is thus I saw him once in the midst of a musket-fire. Sometimes in a night-gown; sometimes in a splendid tunic, with his three stars, his orders, and diamonds as large as a thumb round the portrait of the Empress,—they seemed placed there to attract the balls;—crooked and almost bent double when he is at home; and tall, erect, proud, handsome, noble, majestic, or fascinating, when he shows himself to the army, like *Agamemnon* in the midst of the monarchs of Greece. What, then, is his magic?—Genius, natural abilities, an excellent memory, and much elevation of soul; malice without the design of injuring; artifice without craft; a happy mixture of caprices; the art of conquer-

ing every heart in his good moments; much generosity, graciousness, and justice in his rewards; a refined or correct taste; the talent of guessing what he is ignorant of; and a consummate knowledge of mankind.'

This sketch is rather the eulogium than the true character of Potemkin. He had originally been the favourite of the Empress, from which thraldom he alone, of her numerous lovers, passed into the possession of greater political power than was enjoyed by any other man in Russia. Till his death he remained master of the destinies of the empire, and retained a paramount influence over the mind of Catharine. He held every office of importance in the state. It was even whispered, that, after the death of her favourite, Lanskoi, Catharine gave her hand in secret to Potemkin. This was doubted at the time, and, at all events, made no change in the mode of life of the Empress or the Prince. It was he, in general, who either chose or recommended the favourites that appeared in rapid succession. A part of his revenue was a hundred thousand roubles from the Empress, and the same sum

from the new favourite, as often as this office was changed.

The portrait left of this extraordinary person by Count Segur, if not exact, approaches more nearly to a true likeness than the epigrammatic sketch of De Ligne:—"Prince Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin was," says Segur, "one of the most extraordinary men of his times; but, in order to have played so conspicuous a part, he must have been in Russia, and have lived in the reign of Catharine II. In any other country, in any other times, with any other sovereign, he would have been misplaced; and it was a singular stroke of chance that created this man for the period that tallied with him, and brought together and combined all the circumstances with which he could tally.

"In his person were collected the most opposite defects and advantages of every kind. He was avaricious and ostentatious, despotic and popular, inflexible and beneficent, haughty and obliging, politic and confiding, licentious and superstitious, bold and timid, ambitious and indiscreet. Lavish of his bounties to his relations,

his mistresses, and his favourites, yet frequently paying neither his household nor his creditors. His consequence always depended on a woman; and he was always unfaithful to her. Nothing could equal the activity of his mind, nor the indolence of his body. No dangers could appal his courage; no difficulties force him to abandon his projects. But the success of an enterprise always brought on disgust.

"He wearied the empire by the number of his posts and the extent of his power. He was himself fatigued with the burthen of his existence; envious of all that he did not do, and sick of all that he did. Rest was not grateful to him, nor occupation pleasing. Every thing with him was desultory; business, pleasure, temper, carriage. In every company he had an embarrassed air, and his presence was a restraint on every company. He was morose to all that stood in awe of him, and caressed all such as accosted him with familiarity.

"Ever promising, seldom keeping his word, and never forgetting any thing. None had read less than he; few people were better informed.

He had talked with the skilful in all professions, in all the sciences, in every art. None better knew how to draw forth and appropriate to himself the knowledge of others. In conversation he would have astonished a scholar, an artist, an artisan, and a divine. His information was not deep, but it was very extensive. He never dived into a subject, but he spoke well on all subjects.

" The inequality of his temper was productive of an inconceivable oddity in his desires, in his conduct, and in his manner of life. One while he formed the project of becoming Duke of Courland; at another he thought of bestowing on himself the crown of Poland. He frequently gavc intimations of an intention to make himself a bishop or even a simple monk. He built a superb palace, and wanted to sell it before it was finished. One day he would dream of nothing but war; and only officers, Tartars, and Cossacks, were admitted to him; the next day he was busied only with politics; he would partition the Ottoman empire, and put in agitation all the cabinets of Europe. At other times, with nothing

in his head but the court, dressed in a magnificent suit, covered with ribbons presented him by every potentate, displaying diamonds of extraordinary magnitude and brilliance, he was giving superb entertainments without any occasion.

"He was sometimes known for a month, and in the face of all the town, to pass whole evenings at the apartments of a young female, seeming to have alike forgot all business and all decorum. Sometimes also, for several weeks successively, shut up in his room with his nieces and several men of his intimates, he would lounge on a sofa, without speaking, playing at chess, or at cards, with his legs bare, his shirt-collar unbuttoned, in a morning-gown, with a thoughful front, his eyebrows knit, and presenting to the view of strangers who came to see him the figure of a rough and squalid Cossack.

"All these singularities often put the Empress out of humour, but rendered him more interesting to her. In his youth he had pleased her by the ardour of his passion, by his valour, and by his masculine beauty. Being arrived at maturity, he charmed her still by flattering her pride,

by calming her apprehensions, by confirming her power, by cherishing her fancies of oriental empire, the expulsion of the barbarians, and the restoration of the Grecian republics.

" At eighteen, an under officer in the horse-guards, on the day of the revolution, he persuaded his corps to take arms, and presented to Catharine his cockade as an ornament for her sword. Soon after, become the rival of Orloff, he performed for his sovereign whatever the most romantic passion could inspire. He put out his eye to free it from a blemish which diminished his beauty. Banished by his rival, he ran to meet death in battle, and returned with glory. A successful lover, he quickly shook off the hypocritical farce, whose catastrophe held out to him the prospect of an obscure destiny. He himself gave favourites to his mistress, and became her confidant, her friend, her general, and her minister.

" Panin was president of the council, and was a stickler for the alliance of Prussia. Potemkin persuaded his mistress that the friendship of the Emperor would be of more use to her in realizing her plans against the Turks. He connected her

with Joseph II., and thereby furnished himself with the means of conquering the Crimea and the country of the Nogay Tartars, which depended upon it. Restoring to these regions their sonorous and ancient names, creating a maritime force at Cherson and Sevastopole, he persuaded Catharine to come and admire herself this new scene of his glory. Nothing was spared for rendering this journey renowned to the latest posterity. Thither were conveyed, from all parts of the empire, money, provisions, and horses. The highways were illuminated. The Borysthenes was covered with magnificent galleys. A hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were newly equipped. The Cossacks were brought together; the Tartars were disciplined. Deserts were peopled for the occasion; and palaces were raised in the trackless wild. The nakedness of the plains of the Crimea was disguised by villages built on purpose, and enlivened by fireworks. Chains of mountains were illuminated. Fine roads were opened by the army. Howling wildernesses were transformed into English gardens. The King of Poland came to pay homage to her who had

crowned him, and who afterwards struck him from the throne. The Emperor Joseph II. came himself to attend the triumphal progress of the Empress Catharine; and the result of this brilliant journey was another war, which the English and the Prussians impolitically instigated the Turks to undertake, and which was only a fresh instrument to the ambition of Potemkin, by affording him an occasion to conquer Oczakow, which remained to Russia, and to obtain the grand ribbon of St George, the only decoration that was wanting to his vanity. But these latter triumphs were the term of his life. He died in Moldavia, almost by a sudden stroke; and his death, lamented by his nieces and by a small number of friends, concerned only his rivals, who were eager to divide his spoils, and was very soon followed by a total oblivion.

"Like the rapid passage of those shining meteors which astonish us by their lustre, but are empty as air, Potemkin began every thing, completed nothing, disordered the finances, disorganized the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with other deserts. The fame of the

Empress was increased by his conquests. The admiration they excited was for her; and the hatred they raised for her minister. Posterity, more equitable, will perhaps divide between them both the glory of the successes and the severity of the reproaches. It will not bestow on Potemkin the title of a great man; but it will mention him as an extraordinary person: and, to draw his picture with accuracy, he might be represented as a real emblem, as the living image of the Russian empire.

"For, in fact, he was colossal like Russia. In his mind, as in that country, were cultivated districts and desert plains. It also partook of the Asiatic, of the European, of the Tartarian, and the Cossack; the rudeness of the eleventh century, and the corruption of the eighteenth: the polish of the arts, and the ignorance of the cloisters; an outside of civilization, and many traces of barbarism. In a word, if we might hazard so bold a metaphor, even his two eyes, the one open, and the other closed, reminded us of the Euxine always open, and the Northern ocean, so long shut up with ice.

" This portrait may appear gigantic; but those who knew Potemkin will bear witness to its truth. That man had great defects; but without them, perhaps, he would neither have got the mastery of his sovereign, nor that of his country. He was made by chance precisely such as he ought to be for preserving so long his power over so extraordinary a woman."*

Segur might have added, that this Russian hero was as artful as his impetuous passions permitted; vindictive, rapacious, and self-willed, to a degree which denoted actual frenzy. When young, and though a favourite not yet quite established in the good graces of the Empress, he was, after a quarrel with her favourites, the Orloffs, in which he lost an eye, sent to serve under Field-Marshal Romantzoff. This distinguished commander treated him with civility, praised his military conduct to the Empress, but gave him neither his confidence nor esteem. The haughty Potemkin felt the

* Life of Catharine II., Empress of Russia, vol. iii. p. 326—333.

humiliation, and never forgave the man, of whom he really had nothing to complain. He engaged in a despicable intrigue to ruin the Countess Bruce, for no other reason than that she had the misfortune to be the sister of the man he hated, and who disdained to cringe before him. Paul Jones complains that his officers were not promoted during one campaign. The officers of Romantzoff were kept from advancement for fourteen successive years, and the Field-Marshal himself retired at last in chagrin and disgust. It was no unfrequent thing for Potemkin to strike the Russian officers that were about him, though he did not venture to display the same vivacity of temper to foreigners. He sometimes, in the headlong impulse of rage, struck even the native nobility. Field-officers were frequently sent by him from the Crimea, and from places as distant, for a dish of a particular kind of fish-soup, which cost him three hundred roubles; or to St Petersburgh or Riga for a few oysters or oranges. He at one period compelled the Empress to dismiss one of her favourites, (recommended by himself some time before,) at the same instant that she ventured to

expostulate with him for having struck the uncle of this young man. He ordered her to "dismiss that white negro, (the favourite Yermoloff,) or he would never again set his foot within the palace,"—and the Empress obeyed! Yermoloff was at the same moment sent on his travels. To Paul Jones he had emphatically said, "None led him—not even the Empress!" He was exceedingly indignant at the Swedish war, which interfered with his views on the Ottoman empire. He termed it an old woman's war. When Catharine wrote him an account of the hasty preparations she had made to repel the Swedes who were approaching her frontier, she inquires, with the good humour which never deserted her, "Have I done right, my master?" This was less a jesting expression than her Majesty probably imagined. The end of this semi-barbarian is not a little edifying. Satiated and disgusted with wealth, honours, conquest, and luxury, in the latter years of his life he would sit, throughout a long winter evening, alone, spreading out his diamonds on a black velvet cloth kept for this purpose, and arranging them in different figures,

as crosses, stars, &c., weighing them, or passing them from hand to hand, like a child playing with cherry-stones, though certainly with not half the enjoyment. He would often pass a couple of hours gnawing his nails in gloomy silence, while he paced a saloon filled with mute company, his presence carrying dismay and blighting wherever he appeared. When attacked by the lingering fever which terminated his days in his fifty-second year, he disdained the advice of the court physicians despatched to him by the Empress, and continued to eat and drink with his ordinary intemperance. His usual breakfast at this time was a smoked goose, with a large quantity of wine and spirits. He dined in the same manner. His appetites were all extravagant and irregular, and indulged to excess. With fever raging in his blood, he determined to leave Yassy, whither he had gone to attend a congress with the agents of the Porte. He fancied the air of this place disagreed with him, and determined to go to Nicolayef, one of the towns he had built. He had not proceeded many miles, when he became so ill that his attendants lifted him from his carriage.

He threw himself on the grass, and died under a tree! This was in October 1791. The wonders told of his riches, his estates, his gold, his diamonds, the splendour of his Tauridan Palace, and the magnificence of his fetes, resemble the enchantments of an oriental tale. Like his coadjutor, Suwarrow, Prince Potemkin was what they were pleased to think, or call, religious. Suwarrow never massacred ten or twenty thousand of his fellow-creatures in cold blood without returning thanks to Heaven, and giving glory for the achievement. Potemkin, for a Russian, could not be called cruel, but he was as superstitious as the meanest of his soldiers. At one time he affected extreme sanctity and mortification of life, and even threatened to turn monk. This was for a political purpose, and the grossest hypocrisy. But his superstition was unaffected. He regarded himself as the peculiar favourite of Heaven, and had great faith in his own good fortune. The first success over the Turkish fleet in the campaign of 1788 was gained, as he boasted to the Prince de Ligne, on the festival day of his patron, St Gregory,—"Heaven had

not forgotten him." Oczakow was stormed and carried on some other saint's day. The Prince of Nassau, the person with whom Paul Jones was in immediate competition, was a man of much feebler character. A sketch of his career in Russia is the strongest corroboration that the Journal of Rear-Admiral Jones can receive.

The Prince of Nassau Siegen was fickle, arrogant, and of mean capacity. Paul Jones frequently throws doubts on his personal courage; but a man whose whole life was spent in search of wild military adventures, and who continually exposed himself to personal danger, could scarcely have been a coward. Nassau proposed to accompany Jones in the secret expedition against England in 1779, and had abruptly abandoned the scheme without explanation or apology, and without even deigning to reply to the frequent letters which the disappointed Commodore addressed to him. He had served in the unfortunate attempt of the French on the island of Jersey, and in the futile attack of the combined powers of France and Spain at Gibraltar. On the breaking out of the war with Turkey he en-

tered the Russian service. He had previously joined the Empress, along with Potemkin, on her celebrated progress to the Crimea, and was rather a favourite with both of those personages. He obtained the command in the Black Sea, and on the arrival of Jones, there is little doubt that the rival commanders viewed each other with mutual jealousy. In an affair which took place on the 29th July, which Paul Jones has not mentioned, the Prince of Nassau, waiting in vain for orders, and at last acting without them, had the good fortune to support Prince Anhalt in a very pressing emergency, and to save a Russian battery. In his report to Potemkin, he boastingly apologizes "for having advanced with three gun-boats, and forced the Turks to retire, without orders."

The reason of his withdrawing from the Liman before the end of the campaign is thus related:—The supineness of Potemkin in conducting the siege of Oczakow was the subject of much animadversion, and at last of great discontent in the army. For months he lay as if spell-bound in his camp, surrounded by the females and others,

ministers of his luxury and pleasure, that accompanied him everywhere, displaying all the eccentricity and caprice of his character more extravagantly than he had ever done before. It is alleged that he was employed all this while in private intrigues to corrupt the Turkish garrison, which he expected to capitulate without bloodshed. In the meanwhile many lives had been lost in sorties and abortive assaults, as well as in the amphibious warfare of the Liman. In a council of war held to concert a decisive plan of attack, Nassau offered, "if he might be intrusted with the operation, to effect a breach in a weak part of the fortress which he had discovered, and which should be large enough to admit a whole regiment." Potemkin, offended by this vain boast, and never, as he afterwards said to Paul Jones, "deceived by Nassau," sarcastically asked him "how many breaches he had made at Gibraltar?" Nassau, offended in his turn, solicited the Empress for his recall. He was accordingly employed in the North Seas, with little honour to himself and great loss to the arms of Russia. In the following year he presented the

Empress with a plan of driving the British from India drawn up by a Frenchman, M. St Genie, whom he patronized. The Empress was at first quite captivated with a scheme, doubly welcome from being brought forward at the very time England was fitting out an armament which was to act in the Baltic, and thus force her to make peace with the Porte. Potemkin, who had been enraged with the Swedish, or, as he called it, "the old woman's war," which interfered with his operations on the Euxine, treated this wild plan of marching a Russian army to Bengal with the derision and contempt it merited. Nassau, however, still maintained a certain degree of favour with the Empress. This was shown in a remarkable instance. By an injudicious and very ill-managed attack of the galley-fleet, which he commanded, on that which was commanded by Gustavus III., his fleet, though twice as large, was completely defeated, with the loss of the one-half of his vessels. His excessive arrogance was not quelled even by witnessing the disastrous consequences of his own ignorance and temerity. His vanity led him to imagine

that the Russians had yielded to this very inferior Swedish force merely to "tarnish his glory." He accordingly thus insolently announced his disgraceful reverse to the Empress:—"Madam, I have had the misfortune to fight against the Swedes, the elements, and the Russians. I hope your Majesty will do me justice." To this extraordinary note the Empress replied, "You are in the right, because I am resolved you shall be so. This is highly aristocratic, but it is therefore suitable to the country in which we live. Depend always on your affectionate Catharine."

Assisted by the counsels of several able naval officers of different countries, Nassau, before this time, had gained a victory over the Swedish fleet. This signal defeat, which soon produced peace, was deeply felt by the Empress, however bravely she carried it; and the Prince of Nassau, though loaded with honours, presented with a town-palace in St Petersburgh, an estate, numerous peasants, and a pension of twelve thousand roubles, saw his favour decline, and afterwards entered the service of Prussia. His conduct in the Swedish campaigns affords, as was said, a strong

corroboration of the statements of Paul Jones:—guided by abler men, he succeeded,—left to himself, he rushed on destruction.

It is now time to resume the regular course of the memoir, which left Paul Jones re-entering St Petersburgh.

CHAPTER III.

It was under very different circumstances from those which attended his first triumphal entry about eight months before, that Jones returned to the Russian capital. He, however, had still sufficient credit at court to obtain an audience of the Empress, at which he delivered the letter of Potemkin. A few flattering promises were made to him by Count de Besborodko, and he immediately began his ordinary practice of transmitting plans and projects, both diplomatic and military.

While he hung on thus, vainly soliciting employment, the infamous conspiracy alluded to at page 114 was formed against his character and fortune, and threatening even his life, the object of which is easily traced, though the precise motives in which it originated, and the persons who imagined an interest in devising it, were never

clearly ascertained, even by the persecuted individual himself. The information on this subject which he procured long afterwards, and which will be laid before the reader in the proper place, though plausible, is neither satisfactory nor supported by much evidence. In his future correspondence, Jones hints that he has reason to impute this most infamous proceeding, if not directly to English influence, at least to the desire of propitiating the English by the sacrifice of an individual so obnoxious as he, somewhat gratuitously, supposed himself to be to that nation. His self-complacence had, on former occasions, seduced him into the belief that the whole British nation were his active enemies, and that his prowess was never to be forgotten nor forgiven. More recently he imagined that his reception at the northern courts had been the subject of deep mortification to such of the English as happened to be at Copenhagen or St Petersburgh. At the court of Denmark he had driven Mr Elliot into despair and solitude; and with the English at St Petersburgh it fared little better.* A few English

* Had the truth of the statement regarding Mr Elliot

naval officers in Russia did indeed raise some obstacle to serving with the celebrated Paul Jones, from a sense of honour and a spirit of professional

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not been tacitly admitted by the biographer of Jones, it would scarcely be worth notice here. It is but one instance of thousands, of men otherwise very acute, becoming the dupes of their own self-esteem. Jones was well received at the Danish Court, and was even soothed by a promised pension; but the ministers of England had carried their point regarding the prizes during eight years; while the government of Denmark, to flatter England, had contrived to elude every American negotiator, Jones and Franklin included. The chagrin of Mr Elliot at the distinguished reception of the American agent could not probably be very deep, while he saw that the American business was not one jot advanced. The conduct of the Court of Denmark in relation to Paul Jones, the pension included, was exactly what is understood by the vulgar phrase, "too civil by half." It is thus he writes of Mr Elliot's distress:—"I must tell you (La Fayette) that Mr Elliot was furious when he found my business at Copenhagen, and that I was received with great distinction at court, and in all the best societies in Denmark. Every time I was invited to sup with the King, Elliot made an apology; he shut himself up for more than a month, and then left town. This occasioned much laughter: and, as he had shunned society from the time of my arrival,

etiquette; but as their destination was the Cronstadt fleet, where Admiral Greig commanded, and as Jones was sent to the Black Sea, this soon passed away.*

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people said he had gone off in a fright!" He adds, "Elliot had influenced the English to put difficulties in the way of my passage by the Baltic," meaning on his voyage to Russia.

* The Life of the Empress Catharine II., (a book that has long been popular, and which is esteemed authentic,) is full of inaccuracies as far as regards Paul Jones, and indeed in many other particulars. It is stated that he was appointed to a command in the Cronstadt fleet, but that this was withdrawn, as the British officers, to the number of thirty, and without a single exception, remonstrated, "considering this appointment as the highest affront that could be offered them, and a submission to it an act of degradation, that no time nor circumstances could wipe away." They accordingly agreed to "lay down their commissions, declaring it was impossible for them to serve under or to act in any manner or capacity whatever, with a pirate or a renegade." It is to be remembered, that this was six years after the peace with the colonies. The whole passage may as well be given at once. It will then require but one refutation. "The

To Russia, and Russians alone, belong the entire infamy of a conspiracy to ruin a stranger who, it is enough to say, had incurred the dis-

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appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the Cronstadt fleet," says this work, " was recalled, and that adventurer, whose character for an impetuous courage had made an impression on the court far beyond its value, was ordered to the armament in the Euxine, as second to the Prince of Nassau. In the meantime a report was raised of a scandalous adventure with a girl, which, making a noise in the town, (St Petersburgh,) occasioned him to quit the country entirely." The same work goes on to state that Paul Jones, though " brave at sea, was a coward on shore,—that he more than once refused to accept a challenge, and was handsomely caned on the Exchange of Philadelphia." Moreover, that " he was extremely ignorant, and that his desperate courage only served to render his atrociousness more conspicuous." Now all this is contained in a well-known work, generally esteemed authentic, and of which the fourth edition, printed only eight years after the death of Paul Jones, lies before us. Where then shall we look for truth? According to this writer, Paul Jones never actually served in Russia at all, but was driven from the country by the shame of his vices, before he had joined

pleasure of Potemkin. In every despotic court, but especially in that of St Petersburgh, political intriguers will never want servile instruments to forward their basest and darkest purposes. In the present case these instruments were found of all ranks, though but of one nation.

The nature of this disgraceful affair, of which, but for the interference of Count Segur, and it

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the fleet on the Black Sea. The reader is aware, that, however apprehensive the British officers might be, Jones never was intended to command in the Cronstadt fleet, then so ably conducted by Admiral Greig, supported by other English officers, and also by Danes and Italians. The courier of Potemkin was despatched to forward him at once to the Liman, as appears by M. Simolin's letter at page 330, vol. I. In the Life of Potemkin, his appearance in the important campaign of 1788, and the support he afforded to the Prince of Nassau, are distinctly stated. It was well known to all Europe. How a man possessed "of desperate courage at sea," finds his courage ooze out at his finger-ends on shore, is a phenomenon beyond ordinary comprehension. As we have extenuated no act of Paul Jones which merited reprehension, we must be excused for noticing what is here set down either in wilful malice or unpardonable ignorance.

might be from some latent dread of public opinion in France and America, Jones must have become the victim, will be sufficiently explained by the following letter, addressed to Prince Potemkin, after the unhappy writer had been forbidden to appear at court, and also by an extract which we shall give from the Memoirs of Count Segur :—

Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to Prince Potemkin.

" St Petersburgh, 13th April, 1789.

" My Lord,—Having had the advantage to serve under your orders, and in your sight, I remember, with particular satisfaction, the kind promises and testimonies of your friendship with which you have honoured me. As I have served all my life for honour, I had no other motive for accepting the flattering invitation of her Imperial Majesty, than a laudable ambition to distinguish myself in the service of a sovereign so magnanimous and illustrious; for I never yet have bent the knee to self-interest, nor drawn my sword for hire. A few days ago I thought myself one of the happiest men in the empire!

Your Highness had renewed to me your promise of friendship, and the Empress had assigned me a command of a nature to occupy the most active and enterprising genius.

" A bad woman has accused me of violating her daughter! If she had told the truth, I should have candour enough to own it, and would trust my honour, which is a thousand times dearer to me than my life, to the mercy of the Empress. I declare, with an assurance becoming a military character, that I am innocent. Till that unhappy moment, I have enjoyed the public esteem, and the affection of all who knew me. Shall it be said that in Russia a wretched woman, who *eloped* from her *husband* and *family* in the country, *stole away her daughter*, lives here in a house of bad fame, and leads a debauched and adulterous life, has found credit enough on a simple complaint, unsupported *by any proof*, to affect the honour of a General Officer of reputation, who has merited and received the decorations of America, of France, and of this empire!

" If I had been favoured with the least intimation of a complaint of that nature having

found its way to the Sovereign, I know too well what belongs to delicacy to have presented myself in the presence of the Empress before my justification.

" My servant was kept prisoner by the officers of police for several hours, two days successively, and threatened with the knout.

" After the examination of my people before the police, I sent for and employed Monsieur Crimpin as my advocate. As the mother had addressed herself to him before to plead her cause, she naturally spoke to him without reserve, and he learned from her a number of important facts, among others, that she was counselled and supported by a distinguished man of the court.

" By the certificate of the father, attested by the pastor of the colony, the daughter is several years older than is expressed in the complaint. And the complaint contains various other points equally false and easy to be refuted. For instance there is a conversation I am said to have held with the daughter in the Russian language, of which no person ever heard me pronounce two words together,—it is unknown to me.

" I thought that in every country a man accused had a right to employ advocates, and to avail himself of his friends for his justification. Judge, my Prince, of my astonishment and distress of mind, when I yesterday was informed that the day before, the Governor of the city had sent for my advocate, and forbidden *him*, at his peril, or *any other person*, to meddle with *my cause!*

" I am innocent before God! and my conscience knows no reproach. The complaint brought against me is an infamous lie, and there is no circumstance that gives it even an air of probability.

" I address myself to you with confidence, my Prince, and am assured that the friendship you have so kindly promised me will be immediately exerted in my favour; and that you will not suffer the illustrious Sovereign of this great empire to be misled by the false insinuations and secret cabals of my hidden enemies. Your mind will find more true pleasure in pleading the cause of an innocent man whom you honour with your friendship, than can result from other victories equally glorious with that of Oczakow, which

will always rank among the most brilliant of military achievements. If your Highness will condescend to question Monsieur Crimpin, (for he dare not now *even speak to me*,) he can tell you many circumstances which will elucidate my innocence. I am, with profound respect, my Lord, your Highness's devoted and most obedient servant," &c. &c.

The document referred to in this letter appears quite satisfactory. It is a declaration by the husband of the woman.

" I certify, that my wife, Fredrica Sophia Koltzwarthen, has left me without any reason; that she has been living in the city with a young man; and that she has clandestinely, and against my will, taken away my daughter Catherine Charlotte, who is now living with her.

" STEPHEN KOLTZWARTHEN.

" Saratowka, 7th April, 1789."

" I certify, that this is the free and voluntary declaration of Stephen Koltzwarthen, and that it is he who has signed it. " G. BRAUN, *Pastor*.

" Saratowka, 7th April, 1789."

"I certify, that my daughter is twelve years of age. STEPHEN KOLTZWARTHEN.

"Saratowka, 7th April, 1789."

"I certify, that Stephen Koltzwarthen has signed what is above written.

"G. BRAUN, *Pastor*."

"*Declaration of the Pastor Lamp of St Petersburgh.*

"I certify, that the name of Koltzwarthen does not at present appear in the roll of those in the communion of the church, and that, previous to the day when she came to my house about the affair of her daughter, I had never seen her.

"J. LAMP, *Pastor*."

The result of this letter to Potemkin does not appear; and any further information concerning this affair must be sought in the Memoirs of Count Segur. It was peculiarly fortunate for Jones that this nobleman, a high-minded and generous individual, of an honourable and a gallant nation, was at this time in Petersburgh. He at

once came forward with warmth and intrepidity in defence of the persecuted stranger.

" Paul Jones," he says, " a sharer in the victories of the Prince of Nassau, had returned to Petersburgh; his enemies, unable to bear the triumph of a man whom they treated as a vagabond, a rebel, and a corsair, resolved to destroy him.

" This atrocity, which ought to be imputed to some envious cowards, was, I think, very unjustly attributed to the English officers in the Russian navy, and to the merchants who were their countrymen. These, in truth, did not disguise their animosity against Paul Jones; but it would be unjust to affix upon all a base intrigue, which was, perhaps, but the work of two or three persons, who have continued unknown.

" The American Rear-Admiral was favourably welcomed at Court; often invited to dinner by the Empress, and received with distinction into the best society in the city; on a sudden, Catharine commanded him to appear no more in her presence.

" He was informed that he was accused of an

infamous crime; of assaulting a young girl of fourteen, of grossly violating her; and that probably, after some preliminary information, he would be tried by the Courts of Admiralty, in which there were many English officers, who were strongly prejudiced against him.

"As soon as this order was known, every one abandoned the unhappy American; no one spoke to him, people avoided saluting him, and every door was shut against him. All those by whom but yesterday he had been eagerly welcomed, now fled from him as if he had been infected with a plague; besides, no advocate would take charge of his cause, and no public man would consent to listen to him; at last even his servants would not continue in his service; and Paul Jones, whose exploits every one had so recently been ready to proclaim, and whose friendship had been sought after, found himself alone in the midst of an immense population: Petersburgh, a great capital, became to him a desert.

"I went to see him; he was moved even to tears by my visit. 'I was unwilling,' he said to me, shaking me by the hand, 'to knock at your

door, and to expose myself to a fresh affront, which would have been more cutting than all the rest. I have braved death a thousand times, now I wish for it.' His appearance, his arms being laid upon the table, made me suspect some desperate intention.

" ' Resume,' I said to him, ' your composure and your courage. Do you not know that human life, like the sea, has its storms, and that fortune is even more capricious than the winds? If, as I hope, you are innocent, brave this sudden tempest; if, unhappily, you are guilty, confess it to me with unreserved frankness, and I will do every thing I can to snatch you, by a sudden flight, from the danger which threatens you.'

" ' I swear to you upon my honour,' said he, ' that I am innocent, and a victim of the most infamous calumny. This is the truth.—Some days since a young girl came to me in the morning, to ask me if I could give her some linen or lace to mend. She then indulged in some rather earnest and indecent allurements. Astonished at so much boldness in one of such few years, I felt compassion for her; I advised her not to

enter upon so vile a career, gave her some money, and dismissed her; but she was determined to remain.

" 'Impatient at this resistance, I took her by the hand and led her to the door; but, at the instant when the door was opened, the little profligate tore her sleeves and her neck-kerchief, raised great cries, complained that I had assaulted her, and threw herself into the arms of an old woman, whom she called her mother, and who, certainly, was not brought there by chance. The mother and the daughter raised the house with their cries, went out and denounced me; and now you know all.'

" 'Very well,' I said, 'but cannot you learn the names of those adventurers?' 'The porter knows them,' he replied. 'Here are their names written down, but I do not know where they live. I was desirous of immediately presenting a memorial about this ridiculous affair, first to the minister, and then to the Empress; but I have been interdicted from access to both of them.' 'Give me the paper,' I said; 'resume your accustomed firmness;—be comforted;—let me

undertake it;—in a short time we shall meet again.'

"As soon as I had returned home, I directed some sharp and intelligent agents, who were devoted to me, to get information respecting these suspected females, and to find out what was their mode of life. I was not long in learning that the old woman was in the habit of carrying on a vile traffic in young girls, whom she passed off as her daughters.

"When I was furnished with all the documents and attestations for which I had occasion, I hastened to show them to Paul Jones. 'You have nothing more to fear,' said I; 'the wretches are unmasked. It is only necessary to open the eyes of the Empress, and let her see how unworthily she has been deceived; but this is not so very easy: truth encounters a multitude of people at the doors of a palace, who are very clever in arresting its progress; and sealed letters are, of all others, those which are intercepted with the greatest art and care.

"'Nevertheless, I know that the Empress, who is not ignorant of this, has directed, under

very heavy penalties, that no one shall detain on the way any letters which are addressed to her personally, and which may be sent to her by post; therefore, here is a very long letter which I have written to her in your name; nothing of the detail is omitted, although it contains some rough expressions. I am sorry for the Empress; but since she heard and gave credit to a calumny, it is but right that she should read the justification with patience. Copy this letter, sign it, and I will take charge of it; I will send some one to put it in the post at the nearest town. Take courage; believe me, your triumph is not doubtful.'

"In fact, the letter was sent and put in the post; the Empress received it; and, after having read this memorial, which was fully explanatory, and accompanied by undeniable attestations, she inveighed bitterly against the informers, revoked her rigorous orders, recalled Paul Jones to court, and received him with her usual kindness.

"That brave seaman enjoyed with a becoming pride a reparation which was due to him; but he trusted very little to the compliments that were

unblushingly heaped upon him by the many persons who had fled from him in his disgrace; and, shortly afterwards, disgusted with a country where the fortune of a man may be exposed to such humiliations, under the pretence of ill health, he asked leave of the Empress to retire, which she granted him, as well as an honourable order and a suitable pension.

"He took leave, after having expressed to me his gratitude for the service which I had rendered him; and his respect for the Sovereign, who, although she might be led into an error, knew at least how to make an honourable reparation for a fault and an act of injustice."

This account is substantially correct. There are some petty errors of detail, but nothing whatever to detract from the noble spirit of generosity in which Count Segur acted to an unfortunate and ill-treated man.

A letter to the Empress, which is still among those papers of Paul Jones which he so carefully collected and preserved, cannot be that alluded to by Count Segur; it has every internal mark

of his own authorship; and as it is one of his *pièces justificatives*, we are inclined to believe it the letter really sent to the Empress:—

(Translation.)

"*Letter of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to the Empress of all the Russias.*

"St Petersburgh, 17th May, 1789.

"MADAM,—I have never served but for honour, I have never sought but glory, and I believed I was in the way of obtaining both, when, accepting the offers made me on the part of your Majesty, I entered your service. I was in America when M. de Simolin, through Mr Jefferson, Minister of the United States at Paris, proposed to me, in name of your Majesty, to take the chief command of the forces in the Black Sea, which were intended to act against the Turks. I abandoned my dearest interests to accept an invitation so flattering, and I would have reached you instantly if the United States had not intrusted me with a special commission to Denmark. Of this I acquitted myself faithfully and promptly." Here follows a detail of that singular voyage per-

formed by the Chevalier in his haste and zeal to reach St Petersburgh, with the particulars of which the reader is already acquainted. We pass this, and resume:—"The distinguished reception which your Majesty deigned to grant me, the kindness with which you loaded me, indemnified me for the dangers to which I had exposed myself for your service, and inspired me with the most ardent desire to encounter more. But knowing mankind, and aware that those persons whom their superiors distinguish and protect are ever the objects of jealousy and envy to the worthless, I entreated your Majesty never to condemn me unheard. You condescended to give me that promise, and I set out with a mind as tranquil as my heart was satisfied.

"In the ports of the Black Sea I found affairs in a very critical condition. The most imminent danger threatened us, and our means were feeble. Neverthless, supported by the love which all your subjects bear to your Majesty, by their courage, by the ability and foresight of the chief who led us, and by the Providence which has always favoured the arms of your Majesty,

we beat your enemies, and your flag was covered with fresh laurels.

" I would not notice, Madam, what I then achieved, if Prince Potemkin had not distinguished my services by reiterated thanks, both in speech and writing; and if your Majesty, informed by the Prince-Marshal of my conduct in the first affair which took place on the Liman, had not invested me with the honourable badge of the Order of St Anne. Since that period, though I have been hampered by limited orders, I have committed no professional error; I have often exposed myself to personal danger, and I have even stooped to sacrifice my personal feelings and interests to my devotion for the good of the service.

" At the close of the campaign I received orders to return to court, as your Majesty intended to employ me in the North Seas, and I brought with me a letter from Prince Potemkin for your Majesty, in which he mentioned my zeal and the importance of my services. I had the honour to present it, and M. le Comte de Besborodko acquainted me that a command of greater importance than that of the Black Sea,

and affording full scope for the display of talent and intelligence, was intended for me. Such was my situation, when, upon the mere accusation of a crime, the very idea of which wounds my delicacy, I was driven from court, deprived of the good opinion of your Majesty, and forced to employ the time which I wish to devote to the defence of your empire in clearing myself from the stains with which calumny had covered me.

" Condescend to believe, Madam, that if I had got the slightest hint that a complaint of such a nature had been made against me, and still more that it had reached your Majesty, I know too well what is owing to delicacy to have ventured to appear before you till I was completely exculpated.

" Knowing neither the laws, the language, nor the forms of justice of this country, I needed an advocate, and obtained one ; but, whether from terror or intimidation, he stopt short all at once, and durst not undertake my defence, though convinced of the justice of my cause. But truth

may always venture to show itself alone and unsupported at the foot of the throne of your Majesty. I have not hesitated to labour unaided for my own vindication ; I have attested proofs ; and if such details may appear under the eyes of your Majesty, I present them, and if your Majesty will deign to order some person to examine them, it will be seen by the report which will be made, that my crime is a fiction, invented by the avarice of a wretched woman, who has been countenanced, perhaps incited, by the malice of my numerous enemies. Her husband has given evidence of her infamous conduct. His signature is in my hands, and the pastor of the district has assured me, that if the college of justice will give him an order to this effect, he will obtain an attestation from the country people that the mother of the girl referred to is a wretch absolutely unworthy of belief.

" Take a soldier's word, Madam ; believe an officer whom two great nations esteem, and who has been honoured with flattering marks of their approbation, (of which your Majesty will soon re-

ceive a direct proof from the United States,*) I am innocent! and if I were guilty, I would not hesitate to make a candid avowal of my fault, and to commit my honour, which is a thousand times dearer to me than my life, to the hands of your Majesty.

" If you deign, Madam, to give heed to this declaration, proceeding from a heart the most frank and loyal, I venture from your justice to expect that my zeal will not remain longer in shameful and humiliating inaction. It has been useful to your Majesty, and may again be so, especially in the Mediterranean, where, with insignificant means, I will undertake to execute most important operations, the plans for which I have meditated long and deeply. But if circumstances, of which I am ignorant, do not admit the possibility of my being employed during the campaign, I hope your Majesty will give me permission to return to France or America, granting, as the sole reward of the services I have render-

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* Referring to the medal ordered to be struck by Congress.

ed, the hope of renewing them at some future day.

"Nothing can ever change or efface in my heart the deep feelings of devotedness with which your Majesty has inspired me.

"To you, Madam, I am personally devoted. I would rather have my head struck off than see those ties broken asunder which bind me to your service. At the feet of your Majesty I swear to be ever faithful to you, as well as to the empire, of which you form the happiness, the ornament, and the glory.—I am,

With the most profound respect,

Madam," &c.

There are, as was said, several important mistakes, though no wilful misrepresentation whatever, in the details given by Count Segur. Though Jones was so far exculpated as to be permitted to appear again at court, it was merely for the ceremony of taking leave of the Empress and royal family, when he had, as will appear, been virtually dismissed from Russia. The Order of St Anne, to which Segur refers, he had

obtained long before. So far was he from receiving any pension from Russia, that his small appointments were tardily paid, and not till after repeated solicitation. Instead of being loaded "with compliments," he was treated while he continued to hang on in the hope of employment, first with the most chilling neglect, and afterwards with repulsive rudeness. Besborodko, the favourite minister of Catharine, who, on his coming to Russia, had overwhelmed the Rear-Admiral with kindness, shut his doors in the face of the supernumerary officer, and did not affect to disguise his weariness and disgust of the applausive recapitulations of past services and projects for future maritime achievements with which he continued to be annoyed by the man whose day was gone by. The alleged crime of the Rear-Admiral, had his guilt even been established, would, we are apt to think, have been no insurmountable barrier to his success in Russia, had a continuance of his services been wished for; nor was his innocence found any recommendation. The Empress may have expressed herself in the terms stated by Count Segur, but this as certainly pro-

duced no favourable change in the position of the party so grossly injured. His correspondence with Besborodko, after this affair had been closed up, shows the real nature of his situation, and affords a painful and humiliating picture of the dying struggles of ambition.

To strengthen or bolster up his interests in Russia, Paul Jones at this time endeavoured to bring into play a little diplomatic influence, knowing the avidity with which that grasping and ambitious power caught at every appearance of advantage. He had written thus to Mr Jefferson soon after his return from the Liman:—"I can only inform you that I returned here by the special desire of the Empress, but I know not as yet how or where I am to be employed for the next campaign. I mentioned in my last, as my opinion, that if the new government of America determines to chastise the Algerines, I think it now a favourable moment to conclude a treaty with Russia. The Turks and Algerines were combined against us on the Black Sea. The United States could grant leave for Russia to enlist American seamen, and, making a common cause with

Russia in the Mediterranean, might at the peace obtain a free navigation from and to the Black Sea. Such a connexion might lead to various advantages in the commerce between the two nations."

Whether Mr Jefferson thought the Admiral too desirous of cutting out work for himself, or that he rather stepped out of his department in interfering in such affairs, his hints appear to have met with the return to which he was well accustomed—neglect,—neglect which might have repelled a haughtier spirit, and which, in many instances, was keenly felt by him, without, however, deterring him from renewed attempts to bring himself by every possible means into notice.

He waited for some weeks after his character was cleared at court before he sent the minister the following letters, which were formerly alluded to :—

"*To his Excellency Count Besborodko from Rear-Admiral Paul Jones.*

"St Petersburgh, 24th June, 1789.

"Sir,—When I had the honour to see your

Excellency last week, I ventured to promise myself that in two days I would be made acquainted with the ulterior intention of her Majesty, whether this was to give me a command, or a temporary leave of absence. No doubt important affairs have occasioned the delay. You will, I hope, have the goodness to permit me to present myself at your hotel to-morrow afternoon; for if it is thought fit to employ my services, there is no time to lose, seeing the advance of the season.

"The detachment of vessels of which your Excellency spoke to me might probably be most useful in the operations which I have projected; but, at the same time, I regard the plan mentioned in the private note which I have sent you as very useful. I would then wish (if circumstances permitted) to combine these plans; and then I think there would be reason to be satisfied with the result.

"I have mentioned to your Excellency that I am *the only officer* who made the campaign of the Liman without being promoted; but I beseech you to believe that I have not accepted of service in Russia to occasion embarrassment;

and since the Empress had given me her esteem and her confidence, I wish for nothing save new opportunities to prove my devotion by fresh services."

This letter elicited no reply, and produced no improvement in the situation of the applicant, save that the leave of absence at which he hinted, though it was the last thing he wished for, was at once accorded, there being evidently an anxious wish to be rid of himself, his projects, and importunities. The subjoined letter, written soon afterwards, may teach a lesson of contentment, and even of cheerful gratitude, to those persons, if such there be, who, in their ignorance of public life, may envy the brilliant fortunes of a lucky adventurer, raised by circumstances far above the level of those of his original rank in society.

"*Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to Count de Besborodko.*

"St Petersburgh, 14th July, 1789.

"SIR,—I presented myself at your hotel the day before yesterday, to take leave, and, at the

same time, to entreat of you to expedite my commission, my passport, and the leave of absence which her Majesty has thought fit to grant me. Though I have perceived on several former occasions that you have shunned giving me any opportunity to speak with you, I made myself certain that this could not occur at a last interview; and I confess I was very much surprised to see you go out by another door, and depart without a single expression of ordinary civility addressed to me at the moment of my leaving Russia, to eonsole me for all the bitter mortifications I have endured in this empire. Before coming to Russia I had been connected with several governments, and no minister ever either refused me an audience, or failed to reply to my letters.

" After the eagerness with which my services were sought, and the fair promises that were made me, I had reason to believe that I would find in Russia every thing pleasant and agreeable. I was eonfirmed in this belief from the essential services which I had the good fortune to render the empire. I am aware that your Ex-

cellency is sometimes teased by importunate persons, but, as I am a man of delicacy in every thing, I deserve to be distinguished from the common herd.

" On the 6th of June, the last time you gave me an opportunity of speaking with you, I gave you a confidential note,* containing the details

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* *Secret Note addressed to the Minister Besborodko by Rear-Admiral Paul Jones.*

" June 6, 1789.

" The great object of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean is to endeavour to cut off the communication between Egypt and the coast of Syria with Constantinople, from whence they procure their corn, rice, coffee, &c. This operation will oblige them to withdraw a very considerable part of their fleet from the Black Sea. To encompass this end, I ask a *carte blanche,* and only, exclusive of small boats, five large vessels, like the East-Indiamen which are purchased in London after they have made three voyages, and which carry from forty to fifty guns. They are strong vessels and good sailers. They are sent from London to Naples under the English flag, under pretext of being engaged in mercantile enterprises. No person can have any thing to say against it. The

of a plan by which, without interfering with any other project, and with the utmost economy, great service might be done to Russia. You promised to submit it to the Empress; and you yourself proposed to place a detachment of vessels under my command, to serve during the existing campaign in the Black Sea, and afterwards in the Mediterranean. I could not have imagined that these plans were so carelessly to be thrown aside; and, in place of discussing and arranging them with you, I was very much asto-

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crew of those vessels being arrived in Italy, would engage in the service of Russia. For the rest we would easily find good sailors at Malta and at Naples. I would employ two small French vessels between Malta and Naples, trading to Smyrna, to procure continual news from Constantinople, and of the force and position of the Turkish fleet. There are some very important blows to be made; but in order to succeed we must not speak of this matter beforehand. We are informed that the want of provisions at Constantinople has occasioned a rebellion, discouraged the people, and caused a great desertion of the troops. It is the policy of the vizier to render himself popular by providing sufficiently for them."

nished when his Excellency the Count de Bruce announced to me that the Empress had granted me a leave of two years.

" On the 1st of February I gave in, by order of his Excellency, Count Ostermann, the plan of a treaty, political and commercial, between Russia and the United States. As the Vice-Chancellor spoke to me of going to America about this purpose, and as I shall soon again be connected with my old friends who constitute the present government of the United States, I would be extremely happy to learn, through your Excellency, the intentions of her Imperial Majesty in this respect, and to be appointed to forward an alliance by which Russia must gain.

" The United States having concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with the Emperor of Morocco, are about to propose to the different powers of Europe a war with the other Barbary states, and to form a confederation against these pirates, till they shall be annihilated as maritime powers. It is proposed, that even the event of a war between the contracting parties shall not disturb the confederation. It

would be worthy of the august Sovereign of this empire to place herself at the head of an alliance so honourable, and of which the consequences must be so useful to Russia. It would give me peculiar satisfaction if your Excellency thought fit to appoint me to make known the intentions of the Empress to the United States on these two points, and I trust I should be able to acquit myself of so honourable a duty to your contentment.

" I have the honour to be, with sincere attachment and high consideration," &c. &c.

His Excellency did not " think fit" to make the solicited appointment.

The Rear-Admiral, as unfortunate in his attempts to obtain a diplomatic mission as a naval command, was now obliged to turn his back on Russia, and devour his chagrin and disappointment as he best could. He had, however, the honour of an audience of leave, though he found considerable difficulty in obtaining his pay and arrears. " When," he says in a letter to M. Genet, " the Count de Bruce sent for me on

the 27th June," (two days only after his letter to Besborodko,) "he told me, on the part of the Empress, that her Imperial Majesty had granted me a leave for two years, with the appointments belonging to my military rank during my absence. The Count de Besborodko wrote me 30th July, informing me that M. Strekalow had received her Majesty's orders with respect to my appointments and arrearages. I have not been able to see M. de Strekalow, though I have called frequently at the cabinet. I have only received my appointments from the time of my entry into the service to the 1st of July, at the rate of 1800 roubles* a-year; and I was told yesterday at the cabinet, that her Majesty likewise mentions nothing but the appointments then due. If I could believe that this was her Majesty's intention I should remain silent; for I certainly did not accept the service her Majesty offered me on account of my appointments or the usual emoluments of my grade."

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* A rouble was in 1789 worth about four shillings English money.

He was satisfied in this respect, and thus left St Petersburgh.

In the Memoir of Paul Jones published in London, no occasion is lost of implicating the English and England as the cause, if not the direct instruments, of his persecution in Russia. "Notwithstanding," it is said, "his regaining the favour of the Empress, the Russian ministers were unwilling to offend England by a refusal to drive him from the service; and their intrigues to accomplish this end were unceasing." Now there is not a vestige of evidence that England or the English in Russia ever interfered with his affairs, save to give him their pity as an ill-used man. To this he himself bears testimony, both in his Journal, and, as will afterwards appear, in his correspondence. Nor does it seem that the Russian ministers found it necessary to give themselves much trouble to accomplish their object. Nothing, it has been seen, could be more cool and contemptuous than the whole tenor of their conduct.

The reader, in possession of the real circumstances attending the departure of Paul Jones

from Russia, will be able to estimate aright the following letter and paragraph, put forth from the kindest motives by Count de Segur, immediately before the Rear-Admiral left that country :—

" *Count de Segur to Count Montmorin.*

" St Petersburgh, 21st July, 1789.

" The enemies of the Vice-Admiral Paul Jones having caused to be circulated reports entirely destitute of foundation, concerning the journey which this general officer is about to undertake, I would wish the enclosed article, the authenticity of which I guarantee, should be inserted in the Gazette of France, and in the other public papers which are submitted to the inspection of your department. This article will undeceive those who have believed the calumny, and will prove to the friends and to the compatriots of the Vice-Admiral, that he has sustained the reputation acquired by his bravery and his talents during the last war; that the Empress desires to retain him in her service; and that if he

absents himself at this moment, it is with his own free-will, and for particular reasons, which cannot leave any stain on his honour.

" The glorious marks of the satisfaction and bounty of the King towards M. Paul Jones, his attachment to France, which he has served so usefully in the common cause, his rights as a subject, and as an admiral of the United States, the protection of the ministers of the King, and my personal friendship for this distinguished officer, with whom I made a campaign in America, are so many reasons which appear to me to justify the interest which I took in all that concerned him during his stay in Russia.

" THE COUNT DE SEGUR."

" *Article to be inserted in the Public Prints, and particularly in the Gazette of France.*

" St Petersburgh, 21st July, 1789.—The Vice-Admiral Paul Jones, being on the point of returning to France, where private affairs require his presence, had the honour to take leave of the Empress the 7th of this month, and to be

admitted to kiss the hand of her Imperial Majesty,* who confided to him the command of her vessels of war stationed on the Liman during the campaign of 1788. As a mark of favour for his conduct during this campaign, the Empress has decorated him with the insignia of the order of St Anne; and her Imperial Majesty, satisfied with his services, only grants him permission to absent himself for a limited time, and still preserves for him his emoluments and his rank."

This was putting the best face on the affair; and the paragraph appeared in the Gazette of France, and in many other journals.

Early in September Jones left St Petersburgh for Warsaw, furnished with letters of introduction, explanation, and vindication from the Count de Segur to different individuals, all written in the same generous spirit as the above. The kindness of Count Segur to a man placed in a situation generally so fatal to court-friendships

* "This general officer, so celebrated by his brilliant actions during the course of the American war, was called, in 1787, to the service of her Imperial Majesty."—*Note to the Newspaper Paragraph.*

does him great honour. His original letters still remain among the papers of the Rear-Admiral, who, however, transmitted copies of them to many of his friends. Count Segur was not the only Frenchman who sustained the calumniated stranger under the base attempts of his enemies. M. de Genet, the younger, was at this time the secretary of legation at St Petersburgh. Paul Jones, at a former period, had been intimate with the father and family of this gentleman at Versailles, and the young Frenchman did not now forget his father's former friend. M. de Genet undertook the arrangement of his pecuniary affairs with the Russian government, and gave him a letter to his sister, the celebrated Madame Campan, explaining the atrocious slanders propagated in St Petersburgh, and placing the innocence of the calumniated individual beyond all suspicion. This original letter also remains among the papers of the Rear-Admiral. It was some months before he returned to Paris, and he might then have felt reluctant to revive the recollection of a charge so disgusting as to make

the task of vindication both humiliating and painful to a mind of any delicacy.

Before quitting this subject, it may be proper again to notice that Jones, though occasionally betrayed by self-complacence into the belief that the English were all his enemies, lived to retract much of this absurd notion. He fairly acquits them of having any share in that conspiracy, of which the capital of Russia formed the appropriate scene, and in this shows far more candour than his American or London historian.

In 1791, in writing from Paris to Mr Jefferson, then in America, he gives the following clue to the mystery of his treatment in Russia. "Chevalier Littlepage, now here on his way from Spain to the north, has promised me a letter to you on my subject, which I presume will show you the meanness and absurdity of the intrigues that were practised for my persecution at St Petersburgh. I did not myself comprehend all the blackness of that business till he came here, and related to me the information he received from a gentleman of high rank

in the diplomatic department, with whom he had travelled in company from Madrid to Paris. That gentleman had long resided in a public character at St Petersburgh, and was there all the time of the pitiful complot against me, which was conducted by a little great man behind the curtain. The unequalled reception with which I had at first been honoured by the Empress had been extremely mortifying and painful to the English at St Petersburgh; and the courtier just mentioned, (finding that politics had taken a turn far more alarming than he had expected at the beginning of the war,) wishing to sooth the Court of London into a pacific humour, found no first step so expedient as that of sacrificing me. But, instead of producing the effect he wished, this base conduct, on which he pretended to ground a conciliation, rather tended to widen the political breach, and made him despised by the English minister, by the English cabinet, and by the gentleman who related the secret to Mr Littlepage." The letter of Mr Littlepage, transmitted to Mr Jefferson along with the above, in part confirms this solution of

an intrigue, so essentially Russian. Yet there remains some secret cause and movement which it is impossible to fathom. "The campaign upon the Liman," says Chevalier Littlepage, "added lustre to the arms of Russia, and ought to have established for ever the reputation and fortune of the gallant officer to whose conduct those successes were owing." (Littlepage attributes to the Rear-Admiral the entire success of the campaign of 1788; not, like Count Segur, dividing his laurels with Nassau; and it is to be remembered, that Littlepage was an eye-witness of an important part of it). "Unfortunately," he continues, "in Russia, more perhaps than elsewhere, every thing is governed by *intrigue*. Some political motives, I have reason to think, concurred in depriving Rear-Admiral Paul Jones of the fruits of his services; he was thought to be particularly obnoxious to the English nation, and the idea of paying a servile compliment to a power whose enmity occasions all the present embarrassments of Russia induced some leading persons to ruin him, in the opinion of the Empress, by an accusation too ridiculous to be mentioned."

On leaving Warsaw, it was the intention of Paul Jones to return to France by Copenhagen and Berlin; but, as it was known that he had left Russia dissatisfied, he deemed it best to avoid all farther occasion of giving his enemies any handle against him, and accordingly kept away from places where it might be presumed that he was tempted to tell tales, or utter complaints.

Disgrace at Petersburgh did not at this juncture imply a cold reception at Warsaw; and in this capital—soon to be a capital no more—Jones was well received, and remained for two months. From Warsaw he despatched the Journal of his American Campaigns for the perusal of the Empress, and also an abridgment of the Journal of his Campaign on the Liman. Her Imperial Majesty had, it seems, at some former period, civilly expressed a desire to see his Journal of the American war. The old spirit was not yet quite subdued. "I have added," he says, "some testimonies of the high and *unanimous* consideration of the United States, and of the private esteem with which I was honoured by several

great men *to whom I am perfectly known*, such as M. Malsherbes and the Count d'Estaing* of

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* This evidently refers to the complimentary letters with which these gentlemen returned the Journal; in which letters the author of the Journal naturally sees perhaps more than is visible to any eyes less interested. We give them here.

" *Letter from Count d'Estaing to Paul Jones, on reading his Journal.*

" It is impossible, Sir, not to abuse your kindness: never lend me your Journal again, for I give you my honour that I shall every time read it throughout, and always with new delight. It is among the number of things that one wishes to have by heart. In it the lesson of military and naval heroism becomes identified with that of generosity, by your conduct towards Lord and Lady Selkirk.

" I am far from regretting the tribute of admiration I have paid to the fight between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis; and though in writing it I did not imagine it could lead to any thing beyond an admission into the society of the Cincinnati,* I cannot but be

* The Count had recommended Captain Edward Stack for admission into this society.

France, and Mr Morris, minister of the American marine. I owe to my own reputation and to

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flattered to find that you have inserted it among the pieces appended to your Journal.

"I have the honour to be, with the most perfect attachment,

"ESTAING.

"Paris, 18th December, 1785."

"*Letter of M. Malsherbes to Captain Paul Jones, on perusing his Journal.*

"Paris, 27th February, 1786.

"SIR,—I have received this mark of your confidence with much gratitude, and have with great eagerness and pleasure read this interesting relation.

"My first idea was, that you should give it to the press; but since I have perused it, I perceive that it is not for the public you have drawn it up, as it contains matters written only for the King, for whom the narrative was intended. In the meanwhile it is highly necessary that deeds so memorable as yours should be made known to the public in an authentic Journal published in your own name.

"I exhort you to set about this as soon as your affairs permit you, and in the meanwhile I hope the King will

truth, to accompany this Journal with an abridgment of that of the campaign of the Liman. If

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read this work with the attention he owes to the relation of services performed by a man so celebrated as you.

"MALSHERBES."

We may here give the dedication of this Journal to the King of France, as a fair specimen of the elaborate composition of the writer, whose abilities, merely in a literary point of view, are, his narrow education and modes of life considered, not a little remarkable. As is not singular, however, his fine and careful writing is by no means his best style :—

"SIRE,—History gives the world no example of such generosity as that of your Majesty towards the young Republic of America; and I believe that never was a compliment more flattering shown by a Sovereign to his allies, than when your Majesty determined to arm and support a squadron under the flag of the United States.

"Words cannot express my sense of the preference I obtained when your Majesty deigned to make choice of me to command that squadron.

"Your Majesty has as much reputation for know-

you, Madam, read it with attention, you will see how little I have deserved the mortifications I have suffered,—mortifications which the justice

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ledge, and the desire of information, as you have for wisdom and justice; but, besides that consideration, I conceive it to be my duty to lay before your Majesty an account of my conduct as an officer, particularly from the date of the alliance between your Majesty and the United States. As your Majesty understands English, I have perhaps judged ill in presenting the extract of my Journals in French. My motive was to give your Majesty as little trouble as possible. Accept, Sire, with indulgence, this confidential offering of my gratitude, which is an original, written for your particular information.

" It has been and will be the ambition of my life to merit the singular honour conferred on me by your Majesty's brevet, dated at Versailles the 28th June, 1780, which says, ' Sa Majesté voulant marquer au J. Paul Jones, Commodore de la Marine des Etâts-Unis de l'Amérique, *l'estime particulière qu'elle fait de sa personne,* pour les preuves de bravoure et d'intrépidité qu'il a données, et qui sont connus de sa Majesté, elle a jugé à propos de l'associer à l'institution du Merite Militaire,' &c.

" The Congress of the United States has, with great

and goodness of your Majesty can alone make me forget.

"As I never offended in *word* or *thought* against the laws of the strictest delicacy, it would assuredly be most desirable to me to have the

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justice, styled your Majesty 'The Protector of the Rights of Human Nature.'

"With the order of Military Merit, your Majesty conferred on me a gold sword,—an honour which, I presume, no other officer has received; and 'The Protector of the Rights of Human Nature' will always find me ready to draw that sword, and expose my life for his service.

"I am, Sire,

"With the truest gratitude,

"Your Majesty's most obliged

"And devoted servant,

"J. PAUL JONES.

"Paris, January 1st, 1786."

"Protector of fair Freedom's rights,
Louis, thy virtues suit a god;
The good man in thy praise delights,
And tyrants tremble at thy nod.

"Thy people's father, loved so well,
May time respect!—when thou art gone
May each new year of history tell
Thy sons with lustre fill thy throne."

happiness of regaining, in spite of the malice of my enemies, the precious esteem of your Majesty. I would have taken leave with a heart fully satisfied, had I been sent to fight the enemies of the Empress, instead of occupying myself with my own private affairs.

" Trusting entirely on the gracious promise that your Majesty gave me, ' never to condemn me without a hearing,' and being devoted to you, heart and soul,

" I am with profound respect," &c. &c.

To ensure the Journal reaching the hands of the Empress, this postscript is added to the above loyal effusion :—" I shall have the honour of sending the Journal by the courier of Wednesday next, with the proofs of every separate article. It will be sealed with my arms, and addressed to your Majesty, and sent under a second cover, to the address of M. de Chrapowitzky." With all these precautions he feared that his Journal was intercepted, as it contained such " damning proofs against his enemies."

CHAPTER IV.

During his stay in Warsaw, Paul Jones became known to the celebrated Kosciusko. On leaving Poland he sent a farewell note to this noble patriot and determined hater of Russia, which was followed by a rather singular correspondence. Sweden was at this time in the heat of war, and it had been rumoured that the discontented American, who had for a brief space prided himself on being a Russian officer, was now ready to take service with Gustavus III. This report was one reason for Jones avoiding the route of Copenhagen on his way to Holland, and choosing rather to go by Vienna.

"*Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to Major General Kosciusko.*

"Warsaw, November 2d, 1789.

"My dear General,—I intend to set out

this day for Vienna, where I shall only stop a few days. I shall then go to Strasburgh, and from thence to Holland, where I expect to arrive before the 1st of December. My address in Holland is under cover to Messieurs Nic. and Jacob Stophorst, Amsterdam.

" As I shall be in relation with our friends in America, I shall not fail to mention on all occasions the honourable employment and the respect you have attained in your own country, and the great regard you retain for the natives of America, where your character is esteemed, and your name justly beloved for your services.—I am," &c.

The letter of General Kosciusko* is written in English, a language which he wrote but

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* THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO was a native of Poland, and of good birth. He was educated at the Cadet-School of Warsaw, and was one of four pupils annually chosen by the king, and sent to complete their military studies in France or Germany. He was instructed at the Military Academy of Versailles, and acquired a thorough knowledge of every department of military science, par-

imperfectly. The original orthography is retained.

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ticularly engineering. It is related, that on returning home he fell desperately in love with a young lady, who eloped with him. The lovers were pursued and overtaken before they could pass the frontiers of Poland; and as Kosciusko could only retain his mistress by killing her father, he resigned her. In consequence, it is said, of this adventure, but more probably from the love of employment and distinction, the young Pole went to America, and was appointed by General Washington one of his aides-de-camp. He continued there till the end of the war. The part he afterwards acted in his native country is well known. In the battle in which he was made prisoner, he had three horses killed under him, and was captured as he fell wounded from the last. He was kept in a Russian dungeon till the death of the Empress Catharine, and only liberated by Paul at his accession. He afterwards visited America and England, and was received with the highest distinction. When Bonaparte entered Poland, he tried to move the nation by a proclamation issued in the name of the patriot chief; but Kosciusko disowned it, and refused to have any alliance either with the French conqueror or with the Russian Emperor, Alexander. "He lived," says his biographer,

" *General Kosciusko to Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, Amsterdam.*

" Warsaw, 15th February, 1790.

" My dear Sir,—I had the honour to write you the 1st or 3d of February. I do not recollect; but I gave you the information to apply to the minister of Sweden at the Hague, for the propositions (according to what M. D'Engestrom told me) they both had order to communicate you. I wish with all my heart that could answer your expectation. I am totaly ignorant what they are; but I could see you to fight against the opression and tyranny. Give me news of every thing.—I am, dear Sir,

" Your most humble and most

" obedient servant,

" J. Kosciusko, G. M."

" in proud independence, superior to fortune and to kings." His latter years were passed at Soleure, where he distinguished himself by generosity to the poor. He possessed a highly-cultivated mind, and was passionately fond of poetry, particularly the works of the English poets, with which he became well acquainted. He died in October 1817, in the 65th year of his age.

"Write me, if you please, who is minister from America at Paris: I want to know his name."

In answer to this letter, Jones wrote from Amsterdam in the following month:—

"My dear Sir,—The letter you did me the honour to write me the 2d February, was delivered to my bankers here, by a man who demanded from them a receipt. I was then at the Hague, and your letter was transmitted to me. On my return here, some days ago, I found another letter from you of the 15th February. This letter had, by the same man, been put into the hands of my bankers. You propose, if I am not mistaken, that I should apply to a gentleman at the Hague, who has something to communicate to me. But a moment's reflection will convince you that considerations of what I owe to myself, as well as the delicacy of my situation, do not permit me to take such a step. If that gentleman has any thing to communicate to me, he can either do it by writing, by desiring a personal conference, or by the mediation of a third person.

I have shown your letter to my bankers, and they have said this much to the gentleman from whom they received it; but this message, they say, he received with an air of indifference."

Thus terminated the enigmatical correspondence between Paul Jones and the illustrious Pole. Reckoning a little on the disinterested love of freedom, once so loudly boasted by all Americans, and somewhat more, probably, on the avowed discontent of the Rear-Admiral, Kosciusko may have wished to draw him into some of those daring schemes with which his own mind, on the highest and purest motives, was now anxiously occupied. But the lingering hope and ardent desire of being again recalled to serve in Russia, cherished in spite of all he had seen and suffered, had not yet left the mind of Jones. To this delusive hope he indeed clung, with an almost abject pertinacity, to the very close of his life. Prudence, besides, forbade a negotiation of so mysterious and suspicious a kind; and there was both honesty and discretion in avoiding it.

While in Holland, Jones wrote many letters to different quarters, desirous to re-establish

himself in the good opinion of some old friends, and to revive himself in the memory of others from whom he had been estranged during his Russian bondage, or splendid exile,—for it may be called indifferently by either name. His letters about this time exhibit a curious struggle between the desire of domestic peace and the ambition of again launching into the heady current of public life. He appears at a loss what plan to pursue, whether to purchase a small estate in America, and seek the enjoyments of that tranquil life which in reality possessed no charms for him; to marry a *rich* wife, or to drag on an existence in the longing, lingering hope of being recalled to Russia. His letters reflect the exact complexion of his thoughts, disturbed, broken, and changeful.

He, however, once more felt in security, and gave his pen such scope, that innumerable letters bear date at the Hague or Amsterdam, between December, 1789, and March, 1790.

A selection from the important part of his copious correspondence at this period must be more satisfactory to the reader than any detail

we can give: his letters of a private kind written at this time are reserved for the limited portion of this memoir devoted to the domestic history of its subject.

"*Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to General Washington, President of the United States.*

"Amsterdam, December 20, 1789.

"Sir,—I avail myself of the departure of the Philadelphia packet, Captain Earle, to transmit to your Excellency a letter I received for you on leaving Russia in August last, from my friend, the Count de Segur, minister of France at St Petersburgh. That gentleman and myself have frequently conversed on subjects that regard America; and the most pleasing reflection of all has been, the happy establishment of the new constitution, and that you are so deservedly placed at the head of the government by the unanimous voice of America. Your name alone, Sir, has established in Europe a confidence that was for some time before entirely wanting in American concerns; and I am assured, that the

happy effects of your administration are still more sensibly felt throughout the United States. This is more glorious for you than all the laurels that your sword so nobly won in support of the rights of human nature. In war your fame is immortal as the hero of Liberty! In peace you are her patron, and the firmest supporter of her rights! Your greatest admirers, and even your best friends, have now but one wish left for you,—that you may long enjoy health and your present happiness.

"Mr Jefferson can inform you respecting my mission to the court of Denmark. I was received and treated there with marked politeness; and if the *fine words* I received are true, the business will soon be settled. I own, however, that I should have stronger hopes if America had created a respectable marine; for that argument would give weight to every transaction with Europe. I acquitted myself of the commission with which you honoured me when last in America, by delivering your letters with my own hands at Paris to the persons to whom they were addressed."

He also wrote Franklin and Mr Ross. Both of these letters have interest.

"Amsterdam, December 27, 1789.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to refer you to Doctor Franklin or to General St Clair for an explanation of my reasons for having left Russia. I have by this opportunity sent to those gentlemen testimonies in French that cannot fail to justify me in the eyes of my friends in Ameriea.

"You have no doubt been informed, perhaps by Mr Parish, of the *unhandsome* conduct of Le Conteulex and Co. with regard to the letter of credit you gave me on them when I was last in America for six thousand livres. As I was landed in England instead of France, I went to London to make an arrangement with Dr Bancroft for supplying the expense of my mission to Denmark. He promised to place funds for my use at Amsterdam. I went to Paris, and took a letter of credit from Le Conteulex on Amsterdam *by way of precaution.* On my arrival at Amsterdam I found that Bancroft had not kept his word, nor ever wrote me a line. I then de-

pended on the credit that Le Conteulex had, *without the least difficulty*, given me in an open letter; but his correspondent informed me he had received orders to pay me nothing till more explicit and satisfactory accounts should be received from you! I had then no funds in my hands; and if I had not had the fortune to be immediately relieved from a quarter on which I had no claim, I should have found myself in great distress.

"I should be glad to know the state of the bank, &c., though I at present want no remittance. My address is, *under cover*, to Messrs N. and J. Van-Stophorst and Hubbard, Amsterdam. Present my respectful compliments to Mrs Ross and the young ladies. I may perhaps return to America in the latter end of the summer; and in that case I shall wish to purchase a *little farm*, where I may live in peace. I am always affectionately yours.

"*John Ross, Esq., Philadelphia.*

"*N. B.*—I presume you have received my bust, as Mr Jefferson has forwarded it for you."

" *Paul Jones to Dr Franklin.*

" Amsterdam, December 27, 1789.

" DEAR SIR,—The enclosed documents from my friend, the Count de Segur, Minister Plenipotentiary of France at St Petersburgh, will explain to you in some degree my reasons for leaving Russia, and the danger to which I was exposed by the dark intrigues and mean subterfuges of Asiatic jealousy and malice. Your former friendship for me, which I remember with particular satisfaction, and have ever been ambitious to merit, will, I am sure, be exerted in the kind use you will make of the three pieces I now send you, for my justification in the eyes of my friends in America, whose good opinion is dearer to me than any thing else. I wrote to the Empress from Warsaw in the beginning of October, with a copy of my journal, which will show her Majesty how much she has been deceived by the account she had of our maritime operations last campaign. I can easily prove to the world that I have been treated unjustly,

but I intend to remain silent at least till I know the fate of my journal.

" I shall remain in Europe till after the opening of the next campaign, and perhaps longer, before I return to America. From the troubles in Brabant, and the measures now pursuing by the King of Prussia, &c., I presume that peace is yet a distant object, and that the Baltic will witness warmer work than it has yet done. On the death of Admiral Greig, I was last year called from the Black Sea by the Empress to command a squadron in the Baltic, &c. This set the invention of all my enemies and rivals at work, and the event has proved that the Empress cannot always do as she pleases. If you do me the favour to write to me, my address is, *under cover*, to Messieurs N. and J. Van Stophorst and Hubbard at Amsterdam.

" I am, with sincere affection, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

" *His Excellency B. Franklin, Esq. &c. &c.*
Philadelphia.

" *N. B.*—It is this day ten years since I left the Texel in the Alliance."

To Mr Parish, the well-known Hamburgh merchant, with whom Paul Jones had become acquainted on his journey to Russia, he thus wrote under a vague idea of going to Hamburgh till his fate was determined :—" My departure from Copenhagen was so sudden, that I omitted writing to you, intending to have done it from St Petersburgh. There I found myself in such a round of feasting and business till the moment of my departure for the Black Sea, that I again postponed.

" Had I wrote you after my arrival at Cherson, I have every reason to think my letters would have been intercepted ; but, notwithstanding my past silence, I can truly assure you, that I have constantly entertained the most perfect and grateful sense of your friendly and polite behaviour to me at Hamburgh and Copenhagen. I will now thankfully pay to your order the cost of the smoked beef you were so obliging as to send to my friend, Mr Jefferson, at my request. The kind interest you have taken in my concerns, and the great desire to cultivate your esteem and friendship, are my present inducements for troubling you with the enclosed packet

for the Chevalier Bourgoing, (the French resident at Hamburgh,) which I leave under a flying seal for your perusal, praying you to shut the exterior cover before you deliver it. I shall make no comments on the documents I send for the Baron de la Houze, but let the simple truth speak for herself. I shall show you, when we meet, things that will surprise you, for you can scarcely have an idea how much our operations have been misrepresented.

"As I am for the present the master of my time, I shall perhaps make you a visit in the spring, and pay my court to some of your kind, rich, old ladies. To be serious, I must stay in Europe till it is seen what changes the present politics will produce, and till I can hear from America; and if you think I can pass my time quietly, agreeably, and at a small expense at Hamburgh, I should prefer it to the fluctuating prospects of other places."

The documents above referred to were copies of the letters of Count Segur for Baron de la Houze, the French minister at Copenhagen: from him they drew a polite and soothing reply:—

" *Baron de la Houze to Paul Jones.*

" Copenhagen, 9th February, 1790.

" It is but a few days since I received, with the letter with which you have honoured me of the 29th December, the copies of that of the Count de Segur, which you have been pleased to communicate to me, and which were accompanied by the article inserted on your account in the Gazette of France, and which I had read. This article, which has been repeated in many foreign gazettes, has entirely destroyed all the venomous effects which calumny had employed to tarnish the distinguished reputation which you have acquired by your talents and valour. In consequence, public opinion still continues to render you justice, and the most noble revenge you can take on your enemies is to gather fresh laurels. The celebrated Athenian general, Themistocles, has said,—' I do not envy the situation of the man who is not envied.' "

Baron Krudner had been actively useful to Paul Jones while in Copenhagen, both in pro-

moting his views in entering the Russian service, and in the affair of the Danish pension. Though we are aware that the Rear-Admiral had property of different descriptions, the state of his finances must, about this time, have been embarrassed by his large disbursements during the Russian campaign, his long journeys, indisposition, and other causes of expenses. In writing from America to a lady in whom he took a strong interest, he represents himself, immediately previous to his last voyage in 1787, as "almost without money, and puzzled to obtain a supply." He wrote, as has been seen, in this emergency to Dr Bancroft,* who afterwards, in London, promised him assistance, but failed to keep his word. He intimates to Mr Parish, that he could wish "to

* Dr Bancroft had pecuniary transactions with Paul Jones, and at this time may have owed him money. The Doctor was addicted to gambling in the English funds, and on this account lost the confidence of Congress, and the diplomatic appointment which he held. It is probable that he employed the money of his friends in the same speculations, partly for his own advantage, and partly for theirs.

live at small expense;" and there are other reasons to conclude, that his finances, at least so far as regarded ready money, were not flourishing. This circumstance of actual exigency may, as was formerly hinted, account for the anxiety respecting the Danish pension manifested in this letter to Baron Krudner; it is in other respects curious:—

"*Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to Baron Krudner, Russian Envoy at Copenhagen.*

"Amsterdam, 29th December, 1789.

"My dear Sir,—Though I have not written to your Excellency since I set out on my first journey to St Petersburgh, yet I have constantly retained the most lively sense of your kind behaviour to me at Copenhagen. I must beg to refer you to his Excellency the Baron de la Houze, to whom I now transmit three documents for my justification in the eyes of my friends in Denmark. Notwithstanding the unjust treatment I received in Russia, the warm attachment with which the Empress inspired me

at the beginning still remains rooted in my heart. You know, Sir, that her Imperial Majesty thought my sword an object worthy of her attention, sought it with the most flattering eagerness, and treated me the first time I was at her court with unexampled distinction. That sword has been successfully and frequently drawn on critical occasions, to render the most essential services to her empire, and to cover her flag with fresh laurels. For this I have greatly exposed my reputation, and entirely sacrificed my military pride. Yet I have seen the credit of my services bestowed on others, and I am the only officer who made the campaign of the Liman without being advanced. In a letter I wrote the Empress the 17th of May last, I mentioned that her Majesty would soon receive a direct proof from America of the unanimous approbation with which I am honoured by the United States. I alluded to the gold medal which I am to receive, and respecting which you have in your hands a copy of the unanimous act of Congress. That medal is now elegantly executed, and is ready for me at Paris. The United States have ordered an example of

my medal to be presented to every sovereign in Europe, Great Britain excepted. When we meet, I shall produce clear proof of all I have said respecting Russia. The only promise I asked from the Empress at the beginning, and, indeed, the only condition I made with her Majesty, was, that '*she should not condemn me without having heard me.*' I need make no remark to a man of your clear understanding. You advised me *to write to the Empress by the post.* I wrote several letters while in the department of the Black Sea to my friend Mr Jefferson, at Paris, containing no detail of our operations, yet they were all intercepted. I have, I think, reason to apprehend that there will be no peace this winter, and that the Baltic will witness *warmer* work than it has yet done.

" You remember that Count B——— (Bernstorf) showed you a paper which he sent, to be delivered to me by the Danish Minister at St Petersburgh. I received that paper without any alteration whatever, either in the '*date*' or otherwise. If I understood you right, it was intend-

ed that '*a year's payment would be made in advance*,' but I have not since heard a word in that respect. I wish to be informed how the payment is intended to be made. It cannot surely be in Danish bank-paper. You will do me a great favour if you can obtain an explicit answer, and it would be much more agreeable if the payment could be made here, instead of being made at any other place. I have not yet mentioned this affair to any person whatever, except yourself. You are no stranger to my sentiments. You know the present happy state of America. That nation will soon create a respectable marine. It is now a year since I gave a plan to the court of St Petersburgh, for forming a political and commercial connexion with the United States. The Empress approved this much, and there was question of sending me to America in consequence. But a great man told me, 'que cela enrageroit les Anglais d'avantage contre la Russie, et qu'il falloit auparavant faire la paix avec les Turcs.' Accept my warm congratulations on the well-merited advancement you have

received in the Order of St Wolodimer. I hear that your lady* is at Paris. I beg you to assure her of my great respect," &c. &c.

Baron Krudner replied, entirely blinking the memorial touching Russian affairs, but assuring his correspondent of success in obtaining the Danish pension, of which he had spoken to Count Bernstorf, and obtained a promise of immediate payment;—which promise, it is to be inferred, was never meant to be kept,—as it certainly never was.

Paul Jones appears to have gone to England in the spring of this year, (1790,) but did not remain long. The object of his visit does not transpire; and that he had been there only comes out incidentally in his correspondence, especially

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* The afterwards well-known Madam Krudner, who was still enchanting Parisian circles with her charms and attitudes in the "shawl-dance," not having as yet assumed the part of devotee, or prophetess, in which she afterwards made an equally remarkable figure.

in a letter to M. de Genet,* written in June, when he had reached Paris. In this letter he informs that gentleman, that he had not yet paid his respects to his sister, (Madam Campan,†) but intended doing so, and presenting the lady with

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* M. Genet remained in St Petersburgh after the return of Count de Segur to France. Both were revolutionists to a moderate extent; and for this they incurred the dislike of the Empress. Genet was removed from Russia, and soon afterwards appointed by the Gironde party, to which he was attached, ambassador to the United States. When the faction of Robespierre obtained the ascendency, he was ordered home, to answer at the bar of the Convention for his malversations in obeying the instructions of the former government. There was in those days but a very short way between the bar of the Convention and the scaffold. He took the wiser part of marrying the daughter of Governor Clinton, and settling in America as a planter.

† M. Genet had several sisters; but as Madam Campan was the best known and most *influential* person of the family, it is taken for granted that this is the sister alluded to here.

his bust, as a mark of personal regard for her father and brother. He continues, " I have shown M. de Simolin proof that, if I have not sought to avenge myself of the unjust and cruel treatment I met with in Russia, my forbearance has been only the result of my delicate attachment towards the Empress. You will oblige me by inquiring at the cabinet, and demanding the appointments due to me for the current year, which ends the 1st of July, agreeably to the promise of the Empress, communicated to me by the Counts de Bruce and Besborodko. I wish to have that money immediately transmitted to me."

While in Amsterdam the Rear-Admiral received letters from Madame Le Mair d'Altigny, a lady who appears to have taken a peculiar interest in his welfare. This lady was probably a widow ; but her actual condition as wife or widow we have no means of verifying, and leave it entirely to the penetration of our fair readers.

" *Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to Madame Le Mair d'Altigny, at Avignon.*

" Amsterdam, 8th Feb. 1790.

" I have received, my dear Madam, the two obliging letters you did me the honour to address to me from Avignon on the 18th and 22d of December. Accept also, I pray you, my sincere acknowledgments for the two letters you had the kindness to send me at Strasburgh. I am infinitely flattered by the interest with which I have the happiness to have inspired you, and your good wishes in my concerns give me true pleasure. I am not come here on account of any thing connected with military operations; and though I think it right to retain my rank, I have always regarded war as the scourge of the human race. I am very happy that you are once more above your difficulties. Past events will enable you to value the blessings of Providence, among which, to a sensible heart, there are none greater than health and independence, enjoyed in the agreeable society of persons of merit. As soon

as circumstances permit, I shall feel eager to join the delightful society in which you are. As you have not sent me your address at Avignon, I beg of you to do so, and to be assured of my entire esteem."

The lady, to visit whom the Rear-Admiral was willing to make so long a journey, when circumstances permitted, appears to have replied in the following month; but it was not till December in the same year that she obtained an answer.

"Paris, December 27, 1790.

"My dear Madam,—I have received your charming letter of the 2d March. Having an affair of business to arrange in England, I went from Amsterdam to London at the beginning of May, to settle it. I escaped being murdered on landing.* From London I came hither, and have not had an hour of health since my arrival. I now feel convalescent, otherwise I would not have

* This is undoubtedly meant in jest; Paul Jones was by no means so senseless as to fear assassination in England.

dared to write, for fear of giving pain to your feeling heart. In leaving Holland my plan was to repair to Avignon, in compliance with your obliging invitation. My health formed an invincible obstacle, but I still hope to indemnify myself on the return of the fine weather. I was for a long time very much alarmed by the disturbances which interrupted the peace of your city, and am very glad to see they are ended. I have learned, with lively satisfaction, that they have had no disagreeable consequences so far as regards you. Give me news of yourself, I pray you, and of those interesting persons of whom you speak in your last letter. Accept the assurance of the sincere sentiments which you are formed to inspire.

" My address is, under cover, to M. Dorbery, No 42, Rue Tournon, Paris.

" *N. B.*—Have you not sufficient confidence in my discretion to explain ' the enigma' of the happiness with which you say ' I will be loaded, and which will astonish me so soon as I know it ?' "

Of Madame Le Mair d'Altigny we hear nothing more, so that her enigma in all probability remained unexpounded.

It might be presumed that the mind of Jones was now effectually weaned from the service of the country where he had been so "unjustly and cruelly treated;" but such was not the fact. At intervals, during the last ten years of his life, he had been subject to severe attacks of indisposition, and about this time he was labouring under that illness which, with brief intermission, never again left him; yet was his mind as ardently occupied as ever with hopes of serving in Russia. He addressed Prince Potemkin, he addressed the Empress:—his mind on this subject appears to have been possessed; his very eagerness must have tended to defeat his anxious wishes. These letters from Paris, together with one other document, conclude the history of his unfortunate connexion with Russia,—a connexion which one cannot help regarding as the cause of his premature death. The generous reader must be pained to see a man of unquestioned bravery, and of very considerable talent and professional skill, who, in

his own adopted country of America, might have lived to old age in peace and honour, fighting her battles in the senate, as he had already done on the ocean, clinging thus in hopeless pertinacity to the delusion which had undone him.

" *To his Highness the Prince-Marshal Potemkin.*

" Paris, 24th July, 1790.

" My Lord,—I do not think it becomes me to let pass the occasion of the return of your aide-de-camp, to congratulate you on the brilliant success of your operations since I had the honour to serve under your orders, and to express to you, in all the sincerity of my heart, the regret I feel in not being fortunate enough to contribute thereto. After the campaign of Liman, when I had leave, according to the special desire of her Imperial Majesty, to return to the department of the Northern Seas, your Highness did me the favour to grant me a letter of recommendation to the Empress, and to speak to me these words, ' Rely upon my attachment. I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship

for the present and for the future.' Do you recollect them? This disclosure was too flattering for me to forget it, and I hope you will permit me to remind you of it. Circumstances and the high rank of my enemies have deprived me of the benefits which I had dared to hope from the esteem which you had expressed for me, and which I had endeavoured to merit by my services. You know the disagreeable situation in which I was placed; but if, as I dared to believe, I have preserved your good opinion, I may still hope to see it followed by advantages, which it will be my glory to owe to you. M. de Simolin can testify to you that my attachment to Russia, and to the great Princess who is its sovereign, has always been constant and durable; I attended to my duties, and not to my fortune. I have been wrong, and I avow it with a frankness which carries with it its own excuse—1st, That I did not request of you a carte-blanche, and the absolute command of all the forces of the Liman. 2d, To have written to your Highness under feelings highly excited, on the $\frac{14}{5}$th October, 1788. These are my faults. If my enemies have wish-

ed to impute others to me, I swear before God that they are a calumny. It only rests with me, my Lord, to unmask the villany of my enemies, by publishing my journal of the operations of the campaign of Liman, with the proofs, clear as the day, and which I have in my hands. It only rests with me to prove that I directed, under your orders, all the useful operations against the Capitan Pacha; that it was I who beat him on the 7th June; that it was I and the brave men I commanded who conquered him on the 17th June, and who chased into the sands two of his largest galleys, before our flotilla was ready to fire a single shot, and during the time a very considerable part of the force of the enemy remained at anchor immediately in rear of my squadron; that it was I who gave to General Suwarrow, (he had the nobleness to declare it at court before me, to the most respectable witnesses,) he first project to establish the battery and breast-works on the isthmus of Kinbourn, and which were of such great utility on the night of the 17—18th June; that it was I, in person, who towed, with my sloops and other vessels,

the batteries which were the nearest to the place, the 1st July, and who took the Turkish galleys by boarding, very much in advance of our line, whilst some gentlemen, who have been too highly rewarded in consequence of it, were content to remain in the rear of the struggles of our line, if I may be allowed to use the expression, sheltered from danger. You have seen, yourself, my Lord, that I never valued my person on any occasion where I had the good fortune to act under your eye. The whole of Europe acknowledges my veracity, and grants me some military talents, which it would give me pleasure to employ in the service of Russia, under your orders. The time will arrive, my Lord, when you will know the exact truth of what I have told you. Time is a sovereign master. It will teach you to appreciate the man, who, loaded with your benefits, departed from the court of Russia with a memorial prepared by other hands and the enemies of your glory, and of which memorial he made no use, because your brilliant success at the taking of Oczakow, which he learned on his arrival in White Russia, gave the lie to all the horrors

which had been brought forward to enrage the Empress against you. You know it was the echo of another intriguer at the court of Vienna. In fine, time will teach you, my Lord, that I am neither a mountebank nor a swindler, but a man true and loyal. I rely upon the attachment and friendship which you promised me. I rely on it, because I feel myself worthy of it. I reclaim your promise, because you are just, and I know you are a lover of truth. I commanded, and was the only responsible person in the campaign of the Liman, the others being only of inferior rank, or simple volunteers; and I am, however, the only one who has not been promoted or rewarded. I am extremely thankful for the order of St Anne which you procured for me, according to your letter of thanks, *for my conduct in the affair of the 7th June*, which was not decisive. The 17th June I gained over the Capitan Pacha a complete victory, which saved Cherson and Kinbourn, the terror of which caused the enemy to lose nine vessels of war in their precipitate flight on the following night, under the cannon of the battery and breast-work which I had caused to be erect-

ed in the isthmus of Kinbourn. On this occasion I had the honour again to receive a *letter of thanks;* but my enemies and rivals have found means to abuse your confidence, since they have been exclusively rewarded. They merited rather to have been punished for having burnt nine armed prizes, with their crews, which were absolutely in our power, having previously ran aground under our guns.

" I have been informed that, according to the institution of the order of St George, I have the right to claim its decorations in the second class for the victory of the 17th June, but I rely upon your justice and generosity. I regret that a secret project, which I addressed to the Count de Besborodko the 6th of June of the last year, has not been adopted. I communicated this project to the Baron de Beichler, who has promised me to speak to you of it. I was detained in St Petersburgh until the end of August, in order to hinder me, as I have heard, from proceeding into the service of Sweden. My poor enemies, how I pity them ! But for this circumstance my intention was to have presented myself at your

head-quarters in the hope to be of some utility; and the Baron de Beichler, in departing from St Petersburgh in order to join you, promised me to assure you of my devotion for the service of your department, and that I should hold myself ready to return to you the instant I was called. My conduct has not since changed, although I hold in my hand a parole for two years, and I regard eighteen months of this parole, in a time of war, more as a punishment than as a favour. I hope that your Highness will succeed in concluding peace this year with the Turks; but, in a contrary case, if it should please you to recall me to take command of the fleet in the ensuing campaign, I would ask permission to bring with me the French officer concerning whom I spoke to you, with one or two others, who are good tacticians, and who have some knowledge of war. On my return here I received a gold medal, granted me by the *unanimous* voice of Congress, at the moment I received a parole from this honourable body. The United States have decreed me this honour, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of the services which I rendered to America eight

years previous, and have ordered a copy to be presented to all the sovereigns and all the academies of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain. There is reason to believe that your Highness will be numbered among the sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the treaty of peace which you are about to conclude with the Turks; but in any case, if a copy of my medal will be acceptable to you as a mark of my attachment for your person, it will do me an honour to offer it to you. "PAUL JONES."

The Rear-Admiral suffered much bodily illness during the interval which elapsed between the despatch of this letter and the period when he sent off his forlorn hope, the subjoined epistle, in the spring of the following year:—

"*To her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias.*

"Paris, $\frac{\text{25th Feb.}}{\text{8th March,}}$ 1791.

"MADAM,—If I could imagine that the letter which I had the honour to write to your Majesty from Warsaw, the 25th September,

1789, had come to hand, it would be without doubt indiscreet in me to beg you to cast your eyes on the documents enclosed, which *accuse no person*,* and the only intent of which is, to let you see that in the important campaign of Liman, the part which I played was not either that of a *zero* or of a *harlequin*, who required to be made a colonel at the *tail* of his regiment. I have in my hands the means to prove, incontestably, that I directed all the useful operations against the Capitan Pacha. The task which was given to me at this critical conjuncture was very difficult. I was obliged to sacrifice my own opinion and risk my military reputation for the benefit of your empire. But I hope you will be satisfied with the manner in which I conducted myself, and also of the subsequent arrangements, of which I am persuaded you have not been ac-

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* In a letter from Warsaw to Mr Littlepage, he says, the Count de B——, (we know not whether de Bruce or de Besborodko, though it is probably the latter,) had intercepted his despatch to the Empress till orders could be got from Potemkin.

quainted until this moment. The gracious counsel which your Majesty has often done me the honour to repeat to me before my departure for the Black Sea, and in the letter which you deigned to write to me afterwards, has since been the rule of my conduct; and the faithful attachment with which you had inspired me for your person, was the only reason which hindered me from requesting my dismissal when I wrote to you from Warsaw; for I confess that I was extremely afflicted, and even offended, at having received a parole for two years in time of war,—a parole which it has never entered into my mind to wish for, and still less to ask, and of which I have not profited to go to America, or even to Denmark, where I had important business; for I had always hoped to be usefully employed in your service, before the expiration of this parole, which has done me so much injury; and although in public I would not have failed to have spoken to you at the last audience which you granted me, yet I was unfortunately led to believe the repeated promises made me, that I should have a private audience in order to lay

before you my military projects, and to speak of them in detail.

" I hope that the brilliant success with which Providence has blessed your arms will enable you to grant peace to your enemies without shedding more of human blood; but in a contrary case your Majesty can be well instructed from my project, No 12, of the last year.

" As I have my enemies, and as the term of my parole is about to expire, I await the orders of your Majesty, and should be flattered, if it is your pleasure for me to come and render you an account in person. Mr ——, who has the goodness to charge himself with this packet, which I have addressed to him, sealed with my arms, will also undertake to forward me your orders; I therefore pray you to withdraw me as soon as possible from the cruel uncertainty in which I am placed. Should you deign, Madam, to inform me that you are pleased with the services which I have had the happiness to render you, I will console myself for the misfortunes which I have suffered, as I drew my sword for you from personal attachment and ambition, but not for

interest. My fortune, as you know, is not very considerable; but as I am philosopher enough to confine myself to my means, I shall be always rich.

"I have the honour to be,
Madam,
Of your Imperial Majesty
The most faithful and
Obedient servant,
PAUL JONES."

So late as the month of July of the same year, we find Paul Jones still in Paris, and now in very bad health, but even yet occupied with Russia. His next and final letter is addressed to Baron Grimm, the literary correspondent of the Empress, who, a dozen years before, had celebrated his praises.* His former attempts having

* In the original correspondence of Grimm we find the following passage, which does not appear in the much-abridged edition of his voluminous works published in this country. This passage, which we had not seen till after the first volume of the Memoir

been so utterly unsuccessful, he discovers considerable address in trying his fortune in a new

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was printed, shows that both Mr Sherburne and the present editor are mistaken in supposing that the bust of Paul Jones was originally taken at his own suggestion. The letter of Baron Grimm bears date January, 1780, at which time he says Paul Jones had been some weeks in Paris. This cannot be correct, as it was among the very last days of December when he escaped from the Texel; the only error, however, is of a few weeks. "The intrepid Paul Jones," says the Baron, "has been here for some weeks. He has had the honour to be presented to the King. He has been applauded with transport at all the public places where he has shown himself, and particularly at the opera. It is a singularity worthy of remark, that this brave Corsair, who has given multiplied proofs of possessing a soul the most firm, and courage the most determined, is at the same time the most feeling and mild man in the world, and that he has made a great many verses full of elegance and softness, the sort of poetry which appears most congenial to his taste being the elegy and the pastoral. The Lodge of the Nine Sisters, of which he is a member, have employed M. Houdon to take his bust. This resemblance is a new masterpiece worthy of the chisel which appears

tack. The Empress, it may be premised, had long shown herself ambitious of being considered the munificent patroness of science and of scientific men, in whatever regarded the improvement of her country, and particularly of her navy.

"*Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to Baron Grimm.*

"Paris, 9th July, 1791.

"Sir,—M. Houdon has sent to your house the bust which you have done me the honour to accept.* Mademoiselle Marchais has told me

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destined to consecrate to immortality illustrious men of all kinds."

* His own bust, "now decorated," he says, "with the order of St Anne, on the American uniform, one reason why I wish to be authorised by the American States to wear that order." This is said in a letter to Mr Jefferson, written soon after his final epistle to the Empress, and when he had formed the design of again entering the French fleet of evolution, if bodily indisposition, and the worse sickness of hope deferred, left him power to form any considerate or consistent plan of future conduct.

all the obliging things you have said regarding me.

" As it is my duty to interest myself in objects that may be useful to Russia, I must inform you that I have met with a man here, whom I have known for fifteen years, who has invented a new construction of ships of war, which has small resemblance, either externally or internally, to our present war-ships, and which will, he says, possess the following advantages over them :—

" I. The crew will be better sheltered during an engagement.

" II. The lodging-room of the crew will be more spacious ; every individual may have a bed

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There were five orders of knighthood in Russia, three of which were instituted by Peter the Great, and two, that of St George and St Vladimir, by the Empress Catharine the Second. The order of St Anne was a Holstein, and not a Russian order. The Empress never conferred this order herself. She left it to the Grand Duke Paul, as Duke of Holstein, and from him Paul Jones received it. It was accordingly less valued than those of her own institution bestowed by herself.

or a hammock, and there may be as much air as is wished for, night and day, in the sleeping apartments.

" III. There will be less smoke during an engagement."

The enumeration of all the rare qualities of this *beau idéal* of a war-ship might prove tedious; suffice it, that a ship of the new construction, of 54 guns, if well armed and commanded, might have faced one of the old make carrying 100 guns; that it would cost less both in artillery and timber, be a better sailer, go nearer the wind, and possess many other advantages. " For a long time," the Rear-Admiral states, " he had, in conjunction with his friend Dr Franklin, tried to construct a ship combining the advantages of being a fast sailer, not driving to leeward, drawing little water, &c.; but they always encountered great obstacles. From the death of that great philosopher," he continues, " having rather too much time on my hands, (a very gentle hint,) I think I have surmounted the difficulties which baffled us, and stopped our progress. The ship-builder of whom I have spoken has explained nothing to

me in detail, and I can form no idea on the subject. He wishes to preserve his invention, and to draw emolument from it; and nothing can be more just, if on experiment his discovery holds. As this is a thing which appears to me to deserve the attention of the Empress, I beg of you to acquaint her Majesty as soon as possible. This person wished to go to England to offer his discovery, where I think it would have been received; but, as I have some influence with him, I have persuaded him to remain here, and wait your reply. If he receive any encouragement, he will communicate his ideas more fully to me. But in every case I dedicate to the Empress, without any stipulation, all that my feeble genius has accomplished in naval architecture." The Rear-Admiral then relates his own supposed discovery, and, like a skilful orator, winds up, by pressing hard the main point of his argument. "Will not this, presuming it correct, be of great advantage to the infant marine of the Black Sea, and consequently to the prosperity of the Russian empire?"

It appears that Baron Grimm received an

answer from the Empress in relation to this first application, though it can scarcely be called a satisfactory one. She says there was a prospect of a speedy peace; but if peace did not take place, she would let M. Paul Jones know her intentions respecting himself: and she tacitly reproves Grimm's interference by saying, that she would not choose him as the medium of her communications with Paul Jones.

CHAPTER V.

THE voluminous papers left by Paul Jones afford very scanty materials for his domestic history. From boyhood his place in society was completely isolated. His extensive correspondence, as it came into the hands of his relatives, is chiefly that of business, or of the ceremonial connected with business, and with the courtesies of acquaintanceship. His intercourse with society amounted to little more than the exchange of the customary offices of kindness and civility. He was early separated, by insurmountable circumstances, from his own relatives; he never afterwards found a fixed home, nor does his correspondence afford any trace of the kindly, genial, unbending, and cordial familiarity of confidential friendship. His letters consequently want the charm of a particular or individual interest. Few of them contain a single observation

on men or manners, or even the expression of an opinion not merely professional. His journals, in like manner, are strictly confined to professional affairs, and contain little that can either extend the range of knowledge or gratify a liberal curiosity. With the fields of observation, whether in America, France, and Russia, that were presented to a mind so active and acute, this is much to be regretted. As it is, the interest of this memoir must rest wholly on the public life of its subject. The few of his private confidential letters which exist, do, however, unfold his character in a very amiable way. Those to his relations in Scotland, written in the latter years of his life, display the most affectionate solicitude for the happiness of those who could but little add to his, and much good sense in his endeavours to promote it.

According to his London or American biographer, Paul Jones was "as chivalrous in love as in war." This is assumed, it is probable, on the principle that every seaman is bound to be so, as a point of professional duty,—from Nelson of the Nile down to Jack or

Ben just paid off at Portsmouth. "Paul Jones," we are gravely told, "was always seriously in love," and, what is more singular, "often with women he had never seen." This contradicts all ordinary experience, and even goes beyond romantic tradition. Though seamen are not remarkable for tedious or roundabout modes of courtship, they are seldom so far spiritualized as not to require at least one passing glance of the fair objects that kindle the sudden flame. That among all existing unknown beauties, Paul Jones should have singled out Lady Selkirk as the object of his romantic and passionate admiration, appears, at least on this, the frigid side of the Atlantic, too absurd for serious refutation. His gallantry of disposition, and the disagreeable and derogatory imputations to which his descent on St Mary's Isle was liable, sufficiently account for the address to Lady Selkirk of a man who had so quick a sense of dishonour, and so tenacious a regard for reputation, as Paul Jones evinced in every transaction of his life. It is therefore quite unnecessary to account for his conduct in this memorable affair, by raising the

ridiculous hypothesis of his having fallen in love with a married lady of high rank, whom he had never seen, and whose eldest son was at that time of an age to have acted as his lieutenant. It is indeed just possible, that, while Paul Jones was still a lad, sailing to the port of Kirkcudbright, he might have seen the lady of St Mary's Isle, though even then it would be preposterous to imagine such long-lived and romantic consequences from this transient vision, however fair and captivating.

Paul Jones was by no means so great a fool as his historian, no doubt to do him honour, would insinuate. A man "in the singular situation of being in love with every woman in Paris," and "often with women he had never seen," was evidently in no imminent peril from the attractions of any individual charmer, however powerful these might be. In the present case this seems to have been the fact. The true, and, it may be said, the only mistress to whom Paul Jones was ever devoted with all the powers of his heart and mind was—GLORY, in

pursuit of whom he made no scruple at any time to set his foot on the neck of "the gentle Cupid," or, if need were, to use that "soft integument" as a stepping-stone in his mounting path.

It is said that John Paul Jones, soon after entering the navy, formed an ardent attachment to an American lady. Their affection was mutual, but circumstances forbade their union; and from this period he formed the resolution of never marrying. There is, however, much to intervene between the cradle and the grave of the passions; and when a man expresses resolutions of this kind, his friends generally know with what proper degree of credit or allowance to receive them. He sent a message to his sisters, by Mr Kennedy,—the French teacher of Dumfries, who waited on him with letters from his relations, about the year 1784,—purporting that he would never marry; yet shortly after this we find him expressing a very tender and anxious interest for a French lady (Madame T———,) with whom he was in correspondence.

The most brilliant period of the *bonnes for-*

tunes of Paul Jones was during his residence at Paris and Versailles in 1780, and immediately after his escape from the Texel; the period commemorated by Baron Grimm, the era of his court favour, military order, and gold sword. He at this time engaged in various *flirtations*, of the kind and complexion which no man of his age and profession, moving in gay society in Paris, could have avoided, if he wished to live in the odour of gallantry. His acquaintance with the lady who assumes, or who received the poetical appellation of Delia, must have commenced about this time, as the hottest fire of her love-letters appears to have fallen upon the Chevalier at L'Orient during the existence of Landais' mutiny.

The conduct of the Chevalier at this time was, it is to be feared, more creditable to his general spirit of gallantry than to his fidelity to the fair and devoted Delia. Among the ladies whom he met most frequently in the society he frequented at Versailles was the Countess of Lavendal, a married woman, (and marriage in Paris at this time made an indispensable ingre-

dient in the attractions of a mistress,) young, beautiful, witty, and withal a little intriguing. To the good graces of this lady the Chevalier Paul Jones anxiously and assiduously recommended himself. There is, however, reason to surmise, that the gentleman might have been somewhat of a self-seeker even in his admiration of the beautiful Countess. It is undeniable, that he owed all the distinction he had just obtained solely to court-favour,—to the French ministry he owed nothing. "La belle Comtesse," indeed, appeared to have looked to him as the medium of advancement or employment for her husband, without affecting to possess court-patronage herself; but there was no limiting the influence of a clever and beautiful woman at the Court of Versailles, where, although the reigning sovereign was unassailable, there were always so many open channels, through ministers and favourites, high and low, male and female. When the lady, whose object was to obtain employment for her husband, in conjunction with the American hero, but who had no objection to the by-play of a little harmless coquetry, thought it prudent to draw back,

after a course of very promising encouragement, her admirer appears to have borne his disappointment with great philosophy; and to have turned the tables upon the fickle charmer, and extricated himself from the affair with a cool dexterity that might command the applause of Chesterfield himself.

This Parisian "course of true love" is fully elucidated by the following extracts of published letters, attributed to a young English lady, a Miss Edes, residing at the time in Versailles. They were written early in June and July, 1780. Coupling the fact of their immediate publication in England, with the staple of their composition, if left to our own instincts, and not positively assured that they were originally the private letters of a young lady, we would be inclined to attribute them to some of the gentlemen of the press who flourished fifty years ago; and who then exported the scandal of Paris to London, in a somewhat clumsier way than the same business is still managed, but exactly in the same spirit.

"The famous Paul Jones dines and sups here

often," says Miss Edes; "he is a smart man of thirty-six, speaks but little French, appears to be an extraordinary genius, a poet as well as a hero; a few days ago he wrote some verses extempore, of which I send you a copy. He is greatly admired here, especially by the ladies, who are all wild for love of him, as he for them; but he adores Lady ——, (the Countess Lavendal,) who has honoured him with every mark of politeness and distinction."

"*Verses addressed to the Ladies who have done me the Honour of their polite Attention!" Presented by Paul Jones to Mademoiselle G——.**

"Insulted Freedom bled,—I felt her cause,
And drew my sword to vindicate her laws,
From principle, and not from vain applause.
I've done my best; self-interest far apart,
And self-reproach a stranger to my heart;

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* This is supposed to be one of the daughters of M. Genet, but could not have been his eldest daughter, who was by this time married to M. Campan, and a woman of the bedchamber to the Queen.

My zeal still prompts, ambitious to pursue
The foe, ye fair ! of liberty and you :
Grateful for praise, spontaneous and unbought,
A generous people's love not meanly sought ;
To merit this, and bend the knee to beauty,
Shall be my earliest and my latest duty."

In this, and other effusions fully more creditable to his muse, Paul Jones, we presume, makes no worse figure than other clever men have done, when, departing from their true character, they choose to engage in the solemn fooleries or trifling puerilities of a part for which neither nature, education, nor habit, has fitted them.*

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* In vindication of the critical opinions of Grimm, who praises the "grace and softness" of the verses of Paul Jones, we subjoin what is considered a tolerably fair specimen of his poetical vein. It is no disparagement of our own great naval hero to say, that the verses of Paul Jones are far superior to those of Nelson. Indeed, of all such effusions the opinion of Byron ought to be adopted as quite canonical—they are so good, that—"bad were better." The only use of the verses of Paul Jones is the evidence they afford, that their author could not have been the

The same young lady, supposed to be the Miss Edes, sometimes noticed in the correspondence of

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brutal, ignorant, and ferocious pirate he is frequently described. In this view they are invaluable to truth and to his honest fame :—

" *Verses written on Board the Alliance off Ushant, the* 1*st Day of January,* 1780, *immediately after escaping out of the Texel from the Blockade of the British Fleet ; being in Answer to a Piece written and sent to the Texel by a young Lady at the Hague.*

TO MISS DUMAS.

I.

" Were I, Paul Jones, dear maid, the ' King of Sea,'
I find such merit in thy virgin song,
A coral crown with bays I'd give to thee,
A car which on the waves should smoothly glide along ;
The Nereïds all about thy side should wait,
And gladly sing in triumph of thy state,
' Vivat, vivat' the happy virgin muse !
Of Liberty the friend, whom tyrant power pursues !

II.

" Or, happier lot ! were fair Columbia free
From British tyranny, and youth still mine,

the Chevalier with the Genet family, on another occasion, and after further acquaintance, writes thus:—

"Since my last, Paul Jones drank tea and supped here. If I am in love with him, for love I may die; I have as many rivals as there are

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I'd tell a tender tale to one like thee
With artless looks, and breast as pure as thine.
If she approved my flame, distrust apart,
Like faithful turtles, we'd have but one heart;
Together then we'd tune the silver lyre,
As Love or sacred Freedom should our lays inspire.

III.

"But since, alas! the rage of war prevails,
And cruel Britons desolate our land,
For Freedom still I spread my willing sails,
My unsheath'd sword my injured country shall command.
Go on, bright maid, the Muses all attend
Genius like thine, and wish to be its friend.
Trust me, although convey'd through this poor shift,
My new-year's thoughts are grateful for thy virgin gift."*

* This gallant effusion was despatched from Corogne, where Jones put in for a short time on his way to Groix. The lady was the daughter of M. Dumas, the American agent at Amsterdam.

ladies, but the most formidable is still Lady ——, (the Countess Lavendal,) who possesses all his heart. This lady is of high rank and virtue, very sensible, good-natured, and affable. Besides this, she is possessed of youth, beauty, and wit, and every other female accomplishment. He is gone, I suppose, for America. They correspond, and his letters are replete with elegance, sentiment, and delicacy. She drew his picture, (a striking likeness,) and wrote some lines under it, which are much admired, and presented it to him, who, since he received it, is, he says, like a second Narcissus, in love with his own resemblance; to be sure he is the most agreeable sea-wolf one would wish to meet with. As to his verses you may do with them what you please. The King had given him a magnificent gold sword, which, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy, he has begged leave to commit it to the care of her ladyship,—a piece of gallantry which is here highly applauded. If any further account of this singular genius should reach my hands, you shall have it."

We believe that even the most finished French

coquet would feel rather startled at the eclat of an appearance like the above in an English periodical published within the month. The Countess must have been alarmed, and she took her measures accordingly.

When Jones was compelled to return to L'Orient, and in the prospect of an immediate departure for America, he took courage to speak more plainly to this condescending Countess. Though, as has been noticed, he found it afterwards expedient to give the affair another turn, his first letter, which follows, cannot be mistaken :—

" I am deeply concerned," he says, " in all that respects your happiness ; I therefore have been and am much affected at some words that fell *in private* conversation from Miss Edes the evening I left Versailles. I am afraid that you are less happy than I wish, and am sure you deserve to be. I am composing a cipher for a key to our future correspondence, so that you will be able to write me very freely, and without risk. It is a small dictionary of particular words, with a number annexed to each of them. In our letters we will write sometimes the corresponding

number instead of the word, so that the meaning can never be understood until the corresponding words are interlined over the numbers.

"I beseech you to accept the within lock. I am sorry that it is now eighteen inches shorter than it was three months ago. If I could send you my heart itself, or any thing else that could afford you pleasure, it would be my happiness to do it. *Before* I had the honour of seeing you, I wished to comply with the invitation of my lodge,* and I need not add that I have *since* found *stronger* reasons that have compelled me to seek the means of returning to France again as soon as possible."

There was a manifest want of *retenue* in this epistle. The lady, it is said, kept the trophies, namely, the cipher, the letter, and the lock of hair, but wrote to Jones, expressing her astonishment at his audacity, and her conjecture that his packet had been *misdirected* when sent to herself. She begged, at the same time, to introduce

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* Probably the lodge of the *Neuf Sœurs*, of which he was a member.

to him the Count her husband, who was to pass through L'Orient. "She should be obliged to the Chevalier to show him every civility." This he did, and afterwards wrote the Countess:—

"L'Orient, July 14, 1780.

"MADAM,—Since I had the honour to receive your packet from Versailles, I have carefully examined the copy of my letter from Nantes, but am still at a loss, and cannot conceive, what part of the letter itself could have occasioned your imagining I had mistaken the address. As for the little packet it contained, perhaps it might better have been omitted: if so, it is easily destroyed. If my letter has given you even a moment's uneasiness, I can assure you, that to think so would be as severe a punishment as could be inflicted upon me. However I may have been mistaken, my intention could never have been to give you the most distant offence. I was greatly honoured by the visit of the Count, your husband, and am so well convinced of his superior understanding, that I am glad to believe Miss Edes was mistaken. I admire him so much, that I

should esteem myself very happy indeed to have a joint expedition with him by sea and land, though I am certain that his laurels would far exceed mine. I mention this, because M. de Genet has both spoken and written to me on the subject as from the Count himself.

"I had the honour to lay a project before the King's ministers in the month of May, for future combined expeditions under the flag of America, and had the satisfaction to find that my ideas were approved by them. If the Count, your husband, will do me the honour to concert with M. de Genet, that the court may send with me to America the application that was intended to be made to Congress, conformable to the proposal I made, it would afford me a pleasing opportunity of showing my gratitude to the King, to his ministers, and to this generous-minded nation. I should be greatly proud to owe my success to your own good offices; and would gladly share with your husband the honour that might result from our operations. I have within these few days had the honour to receive from his Majesty the cross of Military Merit, with a sword that is

worthy the royal giver, and a letter which I ardently wish to deserve. I hold the sword in too high estimation to risk its being taken by the enemy; and therefore propose to deposit it in the care of a friend. None can be more worthy of that sacred deposite than you, Madam; and if you will do me the honour to be its guardian, I shall esteem myself under an additional obligation to deserve your ribbon, and to prove myself worthy of the title of your knight. I promised to send you a particular account of my late expedition; but the late extraordinary events that have taken place, with respect to the frigate Alliance, make me wish to postpone that relation until after a court-martial in America shall have furnished evidence for many circumstances that would, from a simple assertion, appear romance and founded on vanity. The only reason for the revolt on board the Alliance was, because the men were not paid either wages or prize-money; and because one or two envious persons persuaded them that I had concurred with M. de Chaumont to defraud them, and to keep them in Europe during the war, which, God knows, was not true.

For I was bound directly for America; and far from concurring with M. de Chaumont, I had not even written or spoken to him, but had highly resented his mean endeavours to keep the poor men out of their just rights, which was the only business that brought me to court in April.

"If I am to have the honour of writing you from beyond sea, you will find that the cipher I had the honour to send you may be necessary; because I would not wish all my informations to be understood, in case my letters should fall into the hands of the enemy. I shall communicate no idea in cipher that will offend even such great delicacy as yours; but as you are a philosopher, and as friendship has nothing to do with sex, pray what harm is there in wishing to have the picture of a friend? Present, I pray, my best respects to the Count. If we are hereafter to be concerned together in war, I hope my conduct will give him satisfaction; at any rate I hope for the honour of his friendship. Be assured that I shall ever preserve for you the most profound esteem and the most grateful respect.

"PAUL JONES."

The lady waived the honour of being constituted guardian of the gold sword; and whatever her influence with the Chevalier might have been, it now declined rapidly. From the Road of Groix Jones wrote to her in the following well-considered and measured terms; and, from his next letters, it appears that the correspondence henceforth languished on his side:—

"*Paul Jones to the Countess de Lavendal.*

"Ariel, Road of Groix, September 21, 1780.

"MADAM,—I was honoured with the very polite letter that your Ladyship condescended to write me on the 5th of last month. I am sorry that you have found it necessary to refuse me the honour of accepting the deposite mentioned in my last, but am determined to follow your advice, and be myself its guardian. I have been detained in this open road by contrary and stormy winds since the 4th of this month. There is this moment an appearance of a fair opportunity, and I will eagerly embrace it. I have received a letter from the first minister, very favourable

to the project I mentioned to you, and you may depend on my utmost interest with Congress to bring the matter to issue. I am sure that assembly will with pleasure say all yourself or the Count could wish respecting the Count, if my scheme is adopted.

"I have the satisfaction to inform you, that, by the testimony of all the persons just arrived in four ships at L'Orient from Philadelphia, the Congress and all America appeared to be warmly my friends; and my heart, conscious of its own uprightness, tells me I shall be well received. Deeply and gratefully impressed with a sense of what I owe to you and your husband's attentions and good wishes, and ardently desiring to merit your friendship and the love of this nation by my whole conduct through life,

"I remain, Madam, &c. &c.

"P. S.—I will not fail to write whenever I have any thing worth your reading; at the same time, may I hope to be honoured now and then with a letter from you, directed to Philadelphia. I was selfish in begging you to write me in French,

because your letters would serve me as an exercise. Your English is correct, and even elegant."*

Long afterwards his correspondence with the Countess is thus ceremoniously resumed :—

Captain Paul Jones to M. de Genet, enclosing Letters to the Countess de Lavendal and the Marquis de Castries.

"Triomphant, Porto la Bello,
February 28, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,—I had the honour to receive your favour of the 16th May, 1781, only a few days before I launched the America at Portsmouth. Perhaps Colonel Lawrence, (who is no more,) in the warmth of his public zeal, had forgot my letter, and carried it with him to the fate of Corn-

* The above letter is addressed, in the copy before us, to the Countess de Bourbon. It is, however, obviously intended for the Countess de Lavendal. Paul Jones could not have been in correspondence with two different ladies to whom he would have wished to intrust "the deposite."

wallis. My mind was so much on the stretch from receiving your letter till I reached Boston, that you will, I hope, excuse my silence. I expected to have written by the Iris; but the stormy weather after leaving Boston rendered it impossible to put letters on board, and I had not a moment's time before we left the port. I leave the seal of my letter to the Marquis de Castries open, that you may read it yourself, and show it to the Countess de Lavendal before you seal and deliver it. She will there see that invincible obstacles have defeated my projects, which I have pursued with unremitting attention. I am happy that my little present was accepted by Miss Sophy* with so much favour, and that it was taken in good part by her family and intended husband. I am not surprised that your son-in-law is a worthy man. It could not be otherwise, since he has your approbation, and is the choice of the young lady. From the complexion of the King of England's speech of the 5th December the war ought now to be at an end. I hope and

* A daughter of M. Genet.

sincerely wish it, for humanity has need of peace. But if the war should continue, it is not impossible that I may command again before it is finished. Returning my respectful compliments to all your family, and to Miss Edes; and still hoping to revisit France, I am,

" Dear Sir, &c. &c.

" M. de Genet, Versailles."

" *Captain Paul Jones to the Countess de Lavendal, enclosed in the above.*

" Triomphant, Porto Cabello,
February, 28, 1783.

" I RECEIVED, Madam, a short time before I left North America, from M. Genet, a letter, dated Versailles, 18th May, 1781, containing a message from your Ladyship respecting the military projects I had in contemplation in connexion with the Count when I left Versailles. As nothing could add more to my disappointment than a supposition on your part that I had not pursued these objects with constant zeal, I have desired M. Genet to put into your hands, before it

is delivered to the person for whom it is directed, a letter, by which you will see that invincible obstacles alone have prevented the full operation of my schemes, which, till very lately, have always been supported by hope. I now think the war at an end; but if it should continue, I shall not voluntarily remain out of the busy scene, and I am still of opinion my former projects might be adopted with public utility. I can, however, promise nothing, but that my principles are invariably the same. I hope to return to France, and am persuaded you will rather feel compassion for my disappointment than withdraw from me any part of your esteem.—I am,

Madam, with sentiments of the most profound respect, &c. &c.

"*To the Countess de Lavendal.*"

In reference to her husband, this lady had evidently formed expectations from Paul Jones which he never possessed the power to realize; and which, it is to be presumed, arose rather from the strength of her own wishes, than from false hopes held out by her admirer. How he

could have proposed to connect himself with a man of no professional eminence, whom, when the idea was formed, he had never seen, and, from Miss Edes' report, supposed a fool, must be left to the sagacity of the reader, and will, perhaps, require his indulgence.

The letter sent for the perusal of the Countess does not appear much in point, nor could it have proved very satisfactory to her.

" *Captain Paul Jones to the Marquis de Castries, enclosed to M. Genet, for the perusal of the Countess de Lavendal.*

" Triomphant, Porto Cabello,
28th February, 1783.

" My Lord Marquis,—You have no doubt been officially informed of the act of Congress presenting the America to his Majesty, to replace the Magnifique, when that ship was lost at Boston. Perhaps you may have also heard, that soon after my return from France to Philadelphia, in the Ariel, I was unanimously elected by Congress to command the America. It was pro-

posed by his Excellency, Mr Morris, Minister of Marine, to arm the America *en flute*, and send her to Brest in December, 1781, with a cargo of large masts, fit for ships of the line, to be armed for war, &c. But when I arrived at Portsmouth, I found the ship not half built, and all the materials were wanting to finish the construction. Instead of commanding a fine ship, and being attended by frigates belonging to the continent, the inspection of the construction fell entirely upon me, almost without money or materials to carry it on. I had been thus employed for sixteen months before the act of Congress presenting the America to the King deprived me of that command. It was thought that act of Congress must give me pain, but those who were of that opinion did not well know my character. It was a sacrifice I made with pleasure, to testify my grateful regard for his Majesty, and my invariable attention and zeal to promote the common cause. I continued my inspection till the America was launched, and having then delivered her to M. de Martigne, appointed by his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, I set out

for Philadelphia. A project was then in contemplation between Mr Morris and the Chevalier de la Luzerne, for employing me immediately with a command of some frigates; but not being able to get the South Carolina frigate out of the hands of Mr Gillan, their project did not succeed. Thus disappointed, I applied to Congress to send me back to Boston to make a campaign for my instruction on board his Majesty's fleet. Congress having passed an act for that purpose, I returned to Boston the day before the fleet sailed, with letters from the Minister of Marine, and the Chevalier de la Luzerne, to his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who kindly received me as a volunteer on board of his ship. I have been so handsomely treated, both by him and the officers, both of the fleet and army, that they leave me nothing more to wish for from them. I am directed to return to Philadelphia when the campaign is ended, unless, in the meantime, I should receive orders to the contrary. I beseech you to assure his Majesty, that I will eagerly embrace every opportunity to testify by my conduct the high sense I have of the honour-

able marks conferred on me of his favour and esteem, and that I feel a superior obligation for the many marks of his bounty.—I am,

" My Lord Marquis,

with profound respect, &c.

" *To his Excellency the Marquis de Castries,*" *&c.*

Of the Countess de Lavendal we learn no more; nor would the affair have been worth notice, were it not already before the public. The motives which led to the earlier part of this correspondence cannot be mistaken; nor is the address displayed in the attempt to give the affair a turn much to be commended, unless, as seems extremely probable, the coquetry of the lady, and her retention of the gifts she disclaims in words, justify the affected astonishment of an admirer whose vanity was to all appearance more interested than his serious affections. If the apology be offered for this correspondence, that Paul Jones did not understand French manners, this will more strongly justify the lady than her admirer; and it is to be feared that another aggra-

vation is, its being simultaneous with that of the devoted Delia, the anonymous lady mentioned at page 261, vol. I.

Delia has so dexterously preserved her incognita, that it is scarce possible, even if it were important, to ascertain her real condition. Her letters which are preserved appear to have been written to Jones while at L'Orient, and when he was supposed on the eve of sailing for America. These epistles, which are warmly passionate, breathe the eloquence of deep and genuine feeling, and display the boundless generosity of a devoted if not very discreet attachment; but they, at the same time, discover a larger experience in "affairs of the heart" than was likely to be possessed or acknowledged by a very young woman, and habits of life which intimate more independence and freedom than custom permitted to any unmarried French girl, if above the very lowest rank. Delia appears to have received the visits of gentlemen,—a privilege enjoyed only by married women or widows; and she alludes to her income of eight thousand livres (no small fortune in those days) as if it were under her sole and

uncontrolled command. She alleges her liberality of disposition as the cause of her narrow fortune, and thus warrants the conclusion, that her conduct was perfectly independent of control. Her extreme apprehension lest her letters or her portrait should be seen, which is repeatedly expressed, is but a natural and becoming female feeling, from which nothing can be surmised of her real character and condition. It was a duty that her lover owed to her memory, or, if she survived him, to the memory of their attachment, to have placed this warm and animated correspondence beyond the power of either misrepresentation or derision.

In the American Memoir of Paul Jones republished in London, it is said, "the Commodore grew alarmed when the lady proposed to follow him to America." Her original letters, which Paul Jones has preserved with a care he was not likely to have bestowed on those of a person to whom he was indifferent, bear no trace of any proposition so indecorous. In the most fervid of her eloquent compositions, with an abundant lack of discretion, there is no symptom

of indelicacy. Her distress, her agonies at parting with her lover, are very frankly proclaimed, but she contemplates no such termination of her misery as an elopement. "Heaven," she says, "will reunite us, and watch over the fate of two beings who love faithfully, and whose upright hearts deserve to be happy. I incessantly address myself to Heaven for your safe arrival in America. If you are satisfied with that government you will continue in its service; if not, resign, and rejoin your faithful friend. The whole world besides may forsake you, but her heart is eternally yours. You inquire how you can render me happy?—take care of yourself, love me, study the means of enabling us to pass our lives together, and never forget that my life is bound up in yours." Delia makes her lover repeated offers of such assistance as she had the power of affording during the exigency of his affairs at L'Orient:—"She had trinkets, she had effects," and with the most disinterested spirit she is willing to sacrifice them all. These offers are made with grace and delicacy, but it does not appear that they were accepted; and, from a

passage in one of her letters, it would seem that Paul Jones had given her assistance of a pecuniary nature.

It is said by the poet,—

"Those who greatly love must greatly fear;"—

the love of Delia was extreme, and her fears corresponded to its excess. The letters of Jones were tolerably frequent for a man engaged in quelling a mutiny, and corresponding with a coquetish Countess. They appear to have soothed the fears of Delia, and filled her with rapturous delight for the moment. She alludes to his responding tears, sighs, and verses; envies her own portrait in his possession, but as regularly relapses into a state of distracting doubt if his silence exceeded the period she had fixed for receiving a letter.

We can perceive no reason for believing "Delia a young and high lady of the court;" but her early letters possess those indelible marks of sincerity, and of warmth and generosity of feeling, which could not fail to interest, were it possible to ascertain who the writer really was. Her me-

mory, nevertheless, possesses some claim with that class of readers pre-eminently called "gentle;" nor is it possible to look on the tear-stains that blot those crooked characters, traced by a hand then trembling with youthful passion, and over which the grave must long since have closed, without a feeling of pity and kindness for the fair writer, so devoted, so eloquent, and probably so unfortunate.

Of the "irresistible love-letters" of Paul Jones, commemorated by Miss Edes and the London editor, we subjoin one specimen, as they have given none. It, we fear, does not lessen the suspicion, that, in the case of Delia, the attachment at this time was strongest on the wrong side. It is written on Christmas-day,—a season for which lovers seldom wait, though parted friends often choose on it to make quittance of neglected correspondence.

Paul Jones to Delia.

"December 25th, 1781.

"I wrote, my lovely Delia, various letters from Philadelphia, the last of which was dated

the 20th of June. On the 26th of that month I was unanimously elected by Congress to command the America of 74 guns, on the stocks at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. I superintended the building, which I find so much more backward than I expected, that a plan of operations which I had in view is entirely defeated. I expected to have been at sea this winter, but the building does not go on with the vigour I could wish. Since I came here I have not had a single good opportunity to write to Europe. This situation is doubly irksome to me, my lovely friend, as it stops my pursuit of honour as well as love. It is now more than twelve months since I left France, yet I have not received a single letter from thee in all that time, except the one written in answer to my letter at taking leave. That one is a tender letter indeed, and does honour to thy matchless heart. I read often, and always with transport, the many charming things that are expressed in thy letters, but especially the last. Thy adieu has in it all the finer feelings blended with the noblest sentiments of the heart. Providence, all just and good, has given thee a

soul worthy to animate nature's fairest work. I rest, therefore, assured, that absence will not diminish but refine the pure and spotless friendship that binds our souls together, and will ever impress each to merit the affection of the other. Remember and believe my letter at parting; it was but a faint picture of my heart. I will find opportunities to write, and be every thing thou canst wish. My address is under cover to the Hon. Robert Morris, Esq., Minister of Finance, Philadelphia.

"I have not since heard of your relation I left behind, but suppose he is with the army."

We cannot tell whether Delia profited or not by this address; but three years afterwards, when the Chevalier arrived in Paris as agent for prize-money, we find her still alive and faithful. Paul Jones has preserved her first note, and in his own handwriting affixed the date to it:—"From her apartments in the Boulevard," &c. &c. He had some reason to be proud of her fidelity:—this was Paris in 1783. Delia's note is exceedingly characteristic of her country, though we

like its tone much less than that of the earlier effusions of its author :—" Is it possible that you are then so near me, and that I am deprived of the sight of a mortal who has constituted the misery of my life for four years ?—O ! most amiable and most ungrateful of men, come to your best friend, who burns with the desire of seeing you. You ought to know that it is but eight days since your Delia was at the brink of the grave. Come, in the name of Heaven !"

It is probable that the Chevalier obeyed this summons, since he thought it worth while to preserve the billet in which it is conveyed.

Delia now disappears from the scene as abruptly as the " beautiful Countess," unless we are able to identify her with Madame T———, a lady for whom, about this time, the Chevalier evinces a warm interest. The supposition, that Madame T———, a widow, it may be presumed, from her friendless and unprotected state, and Delia, are the same individual, is feasible in itself, creditable to both parties, and readily accounts for all the ambiguities in the letters, and still more in the situation of Delia. With Madame T———

Jones corresponded after his return to America in 1786. Her letters to him were sent to the care of the American minister, as those of Delia had formerly been. The reader has the advantage of being introduced to this lady by Paul Jones himself in the following letter to Mr Jefferson:—

"I am much obliged to you for the letter from Madame T———, which you forwarded by the June packet. I now take the liberty to enclose a letter for that worthy lady; and, as I had not the happiness to introduce you to her, (because I wished her fortune to have been previously established,) I shall now tell you *in confidence*, that she is the daughter of the late King and of a lady of quality, on whom his Majesty bestowed a very large fortune on his daughter's account. Unfortunately the father died while the daughter (his great favourite) was very young, and the mother has never since shown her either justice or natural affection. She was long the silent victim of that injustice; but I had the pleasure to be instrumental in putting her in a fair way to obtain redress. His present Ma-

jesty received her last year with great kindness. He gave her afterwards several particular audiences, and said 'he charged himself with her fortune.' Some things were, as I have understood, fixed on, that depended solely on the King, and he said he would dictate the justice to be rendered by the mother. But the letter you sent me left the feeling author all in tears! Her friend, her protectress, her introductress to the King, was suddenly dead! She was in despair! She lost more than a mother! A loss, indeed, that nothing can repair; for fortune and favour are never to be compared to tried friendship. I hope, however, she has gone to visit the King in July, agreeably to his appointment given her in the month of March. I am persuaded that he would receive her with additional kindness, and that her loss would, in his mind, be a new claim to his protection, especially as he well knows, and has acknowledged, her superior merit and just pretensions. As I feel the greatest concern for the situation of this worthy lady, you will render me a great favour by writing her a note, requesting her to call on you, as

you have something to communicate from me. When she comes, be so good as to deliver the within letter, and show her this, that she may see both my confidence in you and my advice to her."

Living so long in Paris or Versailles, it is scarcely possible that Paul Jones could have been deceived in the character or pretensions of Madame T——, though such is not the way in which the daughters "of Louis XV., by ladies of quality," were usually treated. It might also be supposed, that some trace of this daughter would be found in the numerous memoirs, letters, and secret histories of the Court of France. We are not aware that any such evidence does exist. It would, however, be high presumption to limit the number of the illegitimate children of so patriarchal a monarch as Louis XV. Madame T——— was therefore, in all probability, one of his numerous descendants, the only inexplicable circumstance being, that a daughter, "his great favourite," should not otherwise be ever heard of; and that, "very young" when her father died, (in 1774,) we should find in her either

the Delia of 1780, or the Madame T———, a widow unknown or unfriended, of 1786. The lady, her protectress, to whom Paul Jones alludes, was, we are incidentally informed, the Marchioness de Marssan, to whom he introduced her. This lady we should presume to be her of the same name, governess to the grand-daughters of Louis XV. and sisters of his unfortunate successor. There is, in short, something inexplicable to us in the history of Madame T———: The sentiments entertained for her by Paul Jones are, however, abundantly clear; they breathe a far more anxious interest than that of friendship. The subjoined letter is a copy of that enclosed to Madame T——— in the letter to Mr Jefferson; the other letter was written to her shortly afterwards.

" *Paul Jones to Madame T———.*

" New York, September 4th, 1787.

" No language can convey to my fair mourner the tender sorrow I feel on her account! The loss of our worthy friend is indeed a fatal stroke! It is an irreparable misfortune which can only be

alleviated by this one reflection, that it is the will of God, whose providence has, I hope, other blessings in store for us. She was a tried friend, and more than a mother to you! She would have been a mother to me also had she lived. We have lost her! Let us cherish her memory, and send up grateful thanks to the Almighty that we once had such a friend. I cannot but flatter myself that you have yourself gone to the K—— in July as he had appointed. I am sure your loss will be a new inducement for him to protect you, and render you justice. He will hear you, I am sure; and you may safely unbosom yourself to him, and ask his advice, which cannot but be flattering to him to give you. Tell him you must look on him as your father and protector. If it were necessary, I think, too, that the Count d'A——,* his brother, would, on your personal application, render you good offices by speaking in your favour. I should like it better, however, if you can do without him. Mr Jefferson will show you my letter of this date to

* Count d'Artois, now Charles X.

him. You will see by it how disgracefully I have been detained here by the Board of Treasury. It is impossible for me to stir from this place till I obtain their settlement on the business I have already performed; and as the season is already far advanced, I expect to be ordered to embark directly for the place of my destination in the North. Mr Jefferson will forward me your letters. I am almost without money, and much puzzled to obtain a supply. I have written to Dr B.,* to endeavour to assist me. I mention this with infinite regret, and for no other reason than because it is impossible for me to transmit you a supply under my present circumstances. This is my fifth letter to you since I left Paris. The two last were from France, and I sent them by duplicates. But you say nothing of having received any letters from me! Summon, my dear friend, all your resolution! Exert yourself, and plead your own cause. You cannot fail of success—your cause would move a heart of flint! Present my best re-

* Bancroft.

spects to your sister. You did not mention her in your letter; but I persuade myself she will continue her tender care of her sweet god-son, and that you will cover him all over with kisses from me: they come warm to *you both* from the heart!"

To the same.

"New York, October 24, 1787.

"The last French packet brought no letter to me from the person whose happiness is dearer to me than any thing else. I have been on the rack of fear and apprehension, and am totally unable to account for that silence! My business is done here, and the moment of my return to Europe approaches. My sentiments are unchanged, and my impatience can better be imagined than expressed. I have been honoured here beyond my own expectations.* But your silence makes even honours insipid. I am, however, far from blaming you; want of health, or some other mis-

* See page 305, vol. i.

fortune, must have interposed. If this reaches you, remember me affectionately to your sister and her god-son. May Heaven avert all trouble from you !"

Paul Jones almost immediately followed this letter to Europe. During his short stay in Paris in the winter of 1787, he must in all probability have again seen the lady to whom it was addressed. Both the letters, as well as that sent to Mr Jefferson, bear testimony how deeply his feelings were involved in this attachment, by whatever name it is called, love or friendship. Yet it must have terminated unsatisfactorily, if not unhappily. From the period of his setting out for Denmark and Russia, his correspondence bears no trace of Madame T——; and by the time he reached Amsterdam on his return, this lady must either have been forgotten, or deemed unworthy of remembrance. Whether this arose from his own conduct or fickleness, or the inconstancy of that friend of whose silence while in America he had complained as " making even honours insipid," it is now impossible to determine, though on this occasion we are inclined to

decide against the lady, should she even be, as we have surmised, the "eternally devoted" Delia herself.

From a letter written by Paul Jones to two ladies whom he numbered among his friends, and who had pointedly alluded to the supposed state of his affections, and his engagements in Paris, there is reason to suppose that he may, in addition to baffled professional hopes, have suffered disappointment of a more tender kind.

"*Paul Jones to Mesdames Le Grande and Rinsby, à Trevoux, près de Lion.*

"Paris, Feb. 25, 1791.

"DEAR AND AMIABLE LADIES,—Madame Clement has read me part of a letter from you, in which you conclude that I prefer love to friendship, and Paris to Trevoux. As to the first part you may be right, for love frequently communicates divine qualities, and in that light may be considered as the cordial that Providence has bestowed on mortals, to help them to digest the nauseous draught of life. Friendship, they

say, has more solid qualities than love. This is a question I shall not attempt to resolve; but sad experience generally shows that where we expect to find a friend we have only been treacherously deluded by false appearances, and that the goddess herself very seldom confers her charms on any of the human race. As to the second, I am too much a philosopher to prefer noise to tranquillity: if this does not determine the preference between Paris and Trevoux, I will add, that I have had very bad health almost ever since your departure, and that other circumstances have conspired to detain me here, which have nothing to do either with love or friendship. My health is now recovering, and as what is retarded is not always lost, I hope soon to have the happiness of paying you my personal homage, and of renewing the assurance of that undiminished attachment which women of such distinguished worth and talents naturally inspire. I am, in the mean time, dear and amiable Ladies,

" Your most obedient and most humble servant,

" PAUL JONES."

The lady's answer merits to be preserved. It displays the true kindness of female friendship, and the frank politeness of a Frenchwoman.

"Trevoux, 6th March, 1791.

"Sir,—I had given up the hope of receiving any intelligence of your Excellency, and I acknowledge it cost me much before I could believe that the promise of a great man was no more to be relied on than that of the herd of mankind. The letter with which you have honoured me convinces me that my heart knew you better than my head; for though my reason whispered that you had quite forgotten us, I was unwilling to believe it.

"Madame Wolfe, as well as myself, is much concerned for the bad state of your health. I am sorry that, like myself, your Excellency is taught the value of health by sickness. Come to us, Sir; if you do not find here the pleasures you enjoy in Paris, you will find a good air, frugal meals, freedom, and hearts that can appreciate you.

" I am concerned to perceive that your Excellency is an unbeliever in friendship. Alas, if you want friends, who shall pretend to possess them ! I hope you will recover from this error, and be convinced that friendship is something more than a chimera of Plato.

" Do me the favour to acquaint me with the time we may expect the honour of seeing you. I must be absent for some days, and I would not for any thing in the world that I should not be here on your arrival. If I knew the time, I would send my little carriage to meet the stage-coach, as I suppose you will take that conveyance.

" Madame Wolfe expects the moment of your arrival with as much eagerness as myself, (she says ;) but as I best know my own feelings, I am certain I go beyond her. Of this I am certain, that we shall both count the day till we have the happiness of seeing you. Come quickly then, I pray you.

" I beg you, Sir, to receive the assurance of the respectful consideration with which I have the

honour to be your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant."

The letters of Paul Jones to his sisters in Scotland are those in which his private character is most truly and advantageously seen. With them he had no part to act, no interests to pursue. His fraternal feelings were warm and steady, and the advice he conveyed to his discordant family, who acquainted him with their dissensions, as a person to whom both parties were disposed to appeal, does equal credit to his head and heart. That these letters should display any traits of the affectionate, confidential cordiality which render the familiar letters of near relatives so delightful, is not to be expected. With his sisters he had enjoyed no domestic intercourse from boyhood, and he could little know of them by an unfrequent interchange of letters. Though not alienated from his affections, they were strangers to his tastes, his habits, his friends, and modes of life, and it is therefore of their own interests and affairs only that he chooses to speak to them.

" *Paul Jones to his Sister, Mrs Taylor.*

" Amsterdam, March 26, 1790.

" I WROTE you, my dear friend, from Paris, by Mr Kennedy, who delivered me the kind letter you wrote me by him. Circumstances obliged me to return soon afterwards to America, and on my arrival at New York, Mr Thomson delivered me a letter that had been intrusted to his care by Mrs Loudon. It would be superfluous to mention the great satisfaction I received in hearing from two persons I so much love and esteem, and whose worthy conduct as wives and mothers is so respectable in my eyes. Since my return to Europe, a train of circumstances and changes of residence have combined to keep me silent. This has given me more pain than I can express; for I have a tender regard for you both, and nothing can be indifferent to me that regards your happiness and the welfare of your children. I wish for a particular detail of their age, respective talents, characters, and education. I do not desire this information merely from curiosity.

It would afford me real satisfaction to be useful to their establishment in life. We must study the genius and inclination of the boys, and try to fit them, by a suitable education, for the pursuits we may be able to adopt for their advantage. When their education shall be advanced to a proper stage, at the school of Dumfries for instance, it must then be determined whether it may be most economical and advantageous for them to go to Edinburgh or France to finish their studies. All this is supposing them to have great natural genius and goodness of disposition; for without these they can never become eminent. For the females, they require an education suited to the delicacy of character that is becoming in their sex. I wish I had a fortune to offer to each of them; but though this is not the case, I may yet be useful to them. And I desire particularly to be useful to the two young women, who have a double claim to my regard, as they have lost their father. Present my kind compliments to Mrs Loudon, to her husband, to Mr Taylor, and your two families, and depend on my affectionate attachment.

" Write me without delay, and having sealed and directed your letter as you did the one you sent me by Mr Kennedy, let it be enclosed in a cover, and direct the cover thus, ' To Messieurs Stophorst and Hubbard, Amsterdam.' You will inquire if it be necessary to pay a part of the postage, in order that the letter may be sent to Holland in the packet. I should be glad if the two Miss Youngs* would do me the favour to write me each a paragraph in your letter, or to write me, if they prefer it, each a separate letter, and I should be glad to find that they understand and can write the French."

This letter, like all those to his own family, has no signature.

In the end of this year (1790) we find another of his letters, from which, with very great pleasure, we give the following extract. The sisters of the Rear-Admiral, who were probably both in the wrong, had, it appears, appealed to him in their disputes. It is to be hoped they profited by his admonitions.

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* His orphan nieces alluded to above.

" Paris, December 27, 1790.

" I duly received, my dear Mrs Taylor, your letter of the 16th August, but ever since that time I have been unable to answer it, not having been capable to go out of my chamber, and having been for the most part obliged to keep my bed. I have now no doubt but that I am in a fair way of a perfect recovery, though it will require time and patience.

" I shall not conceal from you that your family discord aggravates infinitely all my pains. My grief is inexpressible, that two sisters, whose happiness is so interesting to me, do not live together in that *mutual tenderness and affection* which would do so much honour to themselves and to the memory of their worthy relations. Permit me to recommend to your serious *study* and *application* Pope's Universal Prayer. You will find more morality in that little piece than in many volumes that have been written by great divines—

'Teach me to *feel* another's wo,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
Such mercy show to me!'

"This is not the language of a weak superstitious mind, but the spontaneous offspring of true religion, springing from a heart sincerely inspired by *charity*, and deeply impressed with a sense of the calamities and *frailties* of human nature. If the sphere in which Providence has placed us as members of society requires the exercise of brotherly kindness and charity towards our neighbour in general, how much more is this our duty with respect to individuals with whom we are connected by the *near* and *tender* ties of nature as well as moral obligation. Every lesser virtue may pass away, but *charity* comes from Heaven, and is immortal. Though I wish to be the instrument of making family-peace, which I flatter myself would tend to promote the happiness of you all, yet I by no means desire you to do violence to your own feelings, by taking any step that is contrary to your own judg-

ment and inclination. Your reconciliation must come free from your heart, otherwise it will not last, and therefore it will be better not to attempt it. Should a reconciliation take place, I recommend it of all things, that you never mention past grievances, nor show, by *word*, *look*, or *action*, that you have not forgot them."

From this time Paul Jones never quitted Paris. His continual bad health, and the state of France, and of the capital, torn by faction, —the threatening shadow of those evil days, which were so soon to follow, already lowering over it,—alike enjoined retirement from society. It does not appear to what political party he was attached, though it is probable that of the Girondists, which was the legitimate offspring of the American revolution, had his good wishes, tempered by strong feelings of personal attachment and gratitude towards the amiable Prince who had shown him such distinguished marks of favour. He had never appeared at Court from the time of his return from Russia; and if he appeared at all, it was only once, which must have been a very few months before his death.

The scroll of a letter, dated December 7th, 1791, to the Marquis of La Fayette, remains among his papers, and explains his situation and his loyal and grateful feelings, and proves that, as this crisis drew near, he took the generous part. The Marquis at this time, from his official situation, was constantly in the Palace.

"*Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to the Marquis de la Fayette.*

"Paris, December 7th, 1791.

"DEAR GENERAL,—My ill health for some time past has prevented me from the pleasure of paying you my personal respects, but I hope shortly to indulge myself with that satisfaction.

"I hope you approve the quality of the fur-linings I brought from Russia for the King and yourself. I flatter myself that his Majesty will accept from your hand that little mark of the sincere attachment I feel for his person; and be assured, that I shall be always ready to draw the sword with which he honoured me for the service of the virtuous and illustrious 'PRO-

TECTOR OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE.'

"When my health shall be re-established, M. Simolin will do me the honour to present me to his Majesty as a Russian admiral. Afterwards it will be my duty, as an American officer, to wait on his Majesty with the letter* which I am directed to present to him from the United States.

"I am, dear General,
"With sincere friendship,
"Your affectionate and
"Most humble servant."

From the mutilated fragment of an angry but very energetic letter, addressed to the Minister of Marine, we gather that the claims of Paul Jones on the French government still remained unsettled, which was indeed the case at his death, and that he had been treated with indignity as well as denied justice. The following

* That given at page 305, vol. I.

letter, which introduces this warm statement of injuries, has peculiar interest, as it is presumed to be the last effusion of his pen. It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed, though it might probably be to the Minister of Marine for the time. It proves that, however sunk in health and hope, the writer retained the same keenness of temper and acuteness of mind which distinguished him at all periods.

"*Rear-Admiral Paul Jones to the Minister of the French Marine.*

"Paris, March, 1792.

Sir,—In the beginning of the administration of your predecessor, I informed him, that this government, not having paid the salary due to a part of the crew of the Bon Homme Richard at the time when they were discharged from the service, they had been paid on their arrival at Boston; and having myself been sent back here after the war, under a special commission from the United States, to settle the claims of my crews, I presented a memorial,

reclaiming that part of the salary that had never been reimbursed. The Minister held me in suspense for about five months, and then, to my great surprise, instead of satisfying my just demand, he addressed me in a very uncivil letter, treating me, as I conceive, like a schoolboy, and permitting himself to cast unjust and uncivil reflections on my past conduct. My health did not permit me to answer him immediately; but I had prepared a letter, and was just going to send it, when I learned that he had resigned his place as the Minister of the Marine, and that you were named as his successor.

"I request the favour, Sir, that you may read his letter and my answer; after which I persuade myself you will do justice to my first demand, which is merely official. As to my personal pretensions, I never should have set up a claim on that score under circumstances less affecting to my sensibility. Of this I need offer no other proof than my silence in that respect for twelve years past. My losses and unavoidable expenses during my long connexion with this nation amount to a large sum, and have

greatly lessened my fortune. I have given solemn proofs of my great attachment towards France, and that attachment still remains undiminished. I persuade myself that I may with full assurance repose my interests through your ministry on the national justice.

" I have the honour to be," &c. &c.

The beginning of the letter referred to above is wanting, as well as the letter of the minister which drew forth the following pithy reply. What of it remains entire commences with the " risks" of the writer in the Texel " for three months together, blocked," he says, " within by the fleet of Holland, and without by the fleets of England, while my head was rendered a prize to excite private treachery and avarice. My fortitude and self-denial alone dragged Holland into the war,—a service of the greatest importance to this nation; for without that great event no calculation can ascertain when the war would have ended.

" Would you suppose, Sir, that my prisoners, 600 in number, were treacherously taken out of my hands in the Texel, with two of my prizes,

a new ship of war, pierced for 56 guns, and a frigate of 24 guns in one battery ?—Would you suppose that I was driven out of the Texel in a single frigate belonging to the United States, in the face of 42 English ships, and vessels posted to cut off my retreat ?—My prisoners were disposed of without my consent, and contrary to my intention. My prizes were all wrested out of my hands, and some of them, particularly the ship of 56 guns, degraded and cut to pieces before my eyes, and in contempt of my authority, though that ship, by the laws of the American flag, was the exclusive property of the captors.

" You appear, Sir, to treat me like a schoolboy, when you say,—' *J'ai l'honneur de vous observer, monsieur, qu'il est toujours d'usage de payer directement aux marins le décompte des salaires qui leur reviennent au désarmement de bâtimens.*' I could not have supposed, Sir, that you had thought me so ignorant as to need that information seventeen years after I was first honoured with the rank of captain in the navy.

* * * * * * *

" Though my crews were almost naked, and I had no money to administer to their wants, yet my constant application to Court for two months produced no relief, no payment whatever, either for salary or prize-money. I was on the point of sailing back to America, without any appearance of obtaining justice,—without the least acknowledgment, direct or indirect, that the Court was satisfied with my services !—Under these circumstances, in a moment of despair, I came to Court to demand satisfaction.

" The Minister of the United States accompanied me to M. Sartine, who gave us a reception as cold as ice, did not say to me a single word, nor ask me if my health had not suffered from my wounds and the uncommon fatigue I had undergone. The public did me more justice than the minister ; and I owe to the King *alone* the flattering marks of distinction with which I was honoured,—a gold sword, and the Order of Military Merit.

" But I solicited in vain for salary and prize-money ; and the Minister of Marine detained me so long at Court, that the crew of the American

frigate I had left at L'Orient, despairing to obtain redress, revolted, and carried that frigate back to America. * * * *

"It is true, the Marquis de Castries pretended for a long time that I should give him security for the prize-money; but I at last made him recede from the absurdity of that demand. I was detained in Europe four years; and having in that time spent sixty thousand livres of my own money, I received for my share of all the prizes, as commander of the Bon Homme, thirteen thousand livres! * * * * Permit me, by way of comparison, just to mention the treatment the French officers received who served in the American army. The war had been carried on for several years by the Americans alone, and there is no instance where the United States *invited* a French officer to enter into their service. Such as presented themselves and were accepted, have all of them bettered their situation by that connexion. At the end of the war they received a gratification of five years' pay, the Order of Cincinnatus, and a lot of land; and they now enjoy grades far su-

perior to what they could have attained under other circumstances. If we except the Marquis de la Fayette, none of them were rich when they went to America. They are all now in easy circumstances. In short, they have been treated much better than the Americans themselves, who served from the beginning to the end of the Revolution.

"I hope and desire, Sir, that you may lay this letter before the King. It contains many things out of the general rule of delicacy which marks my proceedings, and which, on any occasion less affecting to my sensibility, would never have escaped from my tongue or pen."

From about this time the health of Paul Jones sunk rapidly. Symptoms of jaundice appeared, —a disease which not unfrequently follows mental chagrin and disappointment. It does not, however, appear that he was long confined. About the beginning of July dropsical symptoms supervened on his other disorders, and he expired on the evening of the 18th of that month. Though far from those on whose affection he had a natural claim, his dying hours were not

unsolaced by the constant and tender offices of friendship.

Many idle rumours connected with his death have been circulated, as if his latter days had been spent in extreme poverty, chilling neglect, and entire abandonment. These are of a piece with the other calumnies and marks of obloquy with which his memory and character have been loaded. The subjoined letters and documents afford a simple and an ample refutation of charges and assumptions made, probably, as much in ignorance as malice.

"*Letter of M. Beaupoil to either Mrs Taylor or Mrs Loudon, Sisters of Paul Jones, Esq. Admiral in the Russian Service.*

"MADAM,—I am sorry to acquaint you that your brother, Admiral Paul Jones, my friend, paid, yesterday, the debt we all owe to nature. He has made a will, which is deposited in the hands of Mr Badinier, notary, St Servin Street, Paris. The will was drawn in English, by Mr Governor Morris, Minister of the UNITED

States, and translated faithfully by the French notary aforesaid. The Admiral leaves his property, real and personal, to his two sisters and their children. They are named in the will as being married, one to William Taylor, and the other to ——— Loudon, of Dumfries. The executor is Mr Robert Morris of Philadelphia. If I could be of any serviee to you in this business, out of the friendship I bore your brother, I'll do it with pleasure. I am a Frenehman and an officer. I am sincerely yours,

" Beaupoil.

" Paris, July 19, 1792, No 7, Hôtel Anglais,
Passage des Petits Pères."

" The English will is signed by Colonels Swan, Blackden, and myself. The sehedule of his property lying in Denmark, Russia, Franee, Ameriea, and elsewhere, is signed by Mr Morris, and deposited by me in his bureau, with the original will. Every thing is sealed up at his lodgings, Tournon Street, No 42, Paris.

" You may depend also on the good services of Colonel Blaekden, who was an intimate friend

of the Admiral's. That gentleman is setting out for London, where you may hear of him at No 18, Great Tichfield Street, London."

On receiving this letter, Mrs Taylor wrote to Colonel Blackden in London, and obtained a reply in course of post.

"*Colonel Blackden to Mrs Taylor of Dumfries, eldest Sister of Admiral Paul Jones.*

"Great Tichfield Street,
London, Aug. 9th.

"MADAM,—I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 3d instant, and shall answer you most readily. Your brother, Admiral Jones, was not in good health for about a year, but had not been so unwell as to keep house. For two months past he began to lose his appetite, to grow yellow, and show signs of the jaundice; for this he took medicine, and seemed to grow better; but about ten days before his death his legs began to swell, which increased upwards, so that two days before his exit he could not button his waistcoat, and had great difficulty of breathing.

" I visited him every day, and, beginning to be apprehensive of his danger, desired him to settle his affairs; but this he put off till the afternoon of his death, when he was prevailed on to send for a *notaire*, and made his will. Mr Beaupoil and myself witnessed it at about eight o'clock in the evening, and left him sitting in a chair. A few minutes after we retired he walked into his chamber, and laid himself upon his face, on the bed-side, with his feet on the floor; after the Queen's physician arrived, they went into the room, and found him in that position, and upon taking him up, they found he had expired.

" His disorder had terminated in dropsy of the breast. His body was put into a leaden coffin on the twentieth, that in case the United States, whom he had so essentially served, and with so much honour to himself, should claim his remains, they might be more easily removed. This is all, Madam, that I can say concerning his illness and death.

" I most sincerely condole with you, Madam, upon the loss of my dear and respectable friend,

for whom I entertained the greatest affection, and as a proof of it, you may command the utmost exertion of my feeble abilities, which shall be rendered with cheerfulness.

" I have the honour to be,

" Madam,

" Your most obedient humble servant,

" S. BLACKDEN."

The American Ambassador, Governor Morris, did not think it necessary to claim the remains of Admiral Jones, nor did the United States. As a protestant and heretic, it was still, we believe, necessary to obtain liberty of burial in consecrated ground, and this was probably done. The National Assembly paid his memory the honour of sending a deputation of twelve of their body to attend the funeral. He was buried at Paris on the 20th July, and the following funeral discourse was pronounced over his grave by Mr Marron, a protestant clergyman of Paris ; busy faction at this period seizing this and every other occasion to promote its own interests :—

(Translation.)

" *Discourse pronounced by Mr Marron, officiating Protestant Clergyman, at the Funeral of Admiral Paul Jones, July* 20, 1792, *in Paris.*

" Legislators! citizens! soldiers! friends! brethren! and Frenchmen! we have just returned to the earth the remains of an illustrious stranger, one of the first champions of the liberty of America, of that liberty which so gloriously ushered in our own. The Semiramis of the north had drawn him under her standard, but Paul Jones could not long breathe the pestilential air of despotism; he preferred the sweets of a private life in France, now free, to the eclat of titles and of honours, which, from an *usurped throne*, were lavished upon him by Catharine. The fame of the brave outlives him, his portion is immortality. What more flattering homage could we pay to the manes of Paul Jones, than to swear on his tomb to live or to die free? It is the vow, it is the watch-word of every Frenchman.

" Let never tyrants, nor their satellites, pollute this sacred earth! May the ashes of the great man, too soon lost to humanity, and eager to be free, enjoy here an undisturbed repose! Let his example teach posterity the efforts which noble souls are capable of making, when stimulated by hatred to oppression. Friends and brethren, a noble emulation brightens in your looks; your time is precious, *the country is in danger!* Who amongst us would not shed the last drop of their blood to save it? Associate yourselves to the glory of Paul Jones, in imitating him in his contempt of dangers, in his devotedness to his country, in his noble heroism, which, after having astonished the present age, will continue to be the imperishable object of the veneration of future generations!"

(Translated from the French.)

" *Testament of Paul Jones, 18th July,* 1792.

" Before the undersigned notaries, at Paris, appeared Mr John Paul Jones, citizen of the United States of America, resident at present in Paris, lodged in the street of Tournon, No 42,

at the house of Mr Dorberque, *huissier audiancier* of the tribunal of the third *arrondissement*, found in a parlour in the first storey above the floor, lighted by two windows opening on the said street of Tournon, sitting in an arm-chair, sick of body, but sound of mind, memory, and understanding, as it appeared to the undersigned notaries by his discourse and conversation,—

" Who, in view of death, has made, dictated, and worded, to the undersigned notaries, his testament as follows :—

" I give and bequeath all the goods, as well moveable as heritable, and all, generally, whatever may appertain to me at my decease, in whatever country they may be situated, to my two sisters, Janet, spouse to William Taylor, and Mary, wife to Mr Loudon, and to the children of my said sisters, to divide them into as many portions as my said sisters and their children shall make up individuals, and to be enjoyed by them in the following manner :—

" My sisters, and those of their children, who on the day of my death shall have reached the age of twenty-one, will enjoy their share in full proper-

ty from the date of decease. As for those of my nephews and nieces who at that period of time may not reach the age of twenty-one years, their mothers will enjoy their shares till such time as they attain that said age, with charge to them to provide for their food, maintenance, and education; and as soon as any of my nephews or nieces will have reached the age of twenty-one years, the same will enjoy his share in full property.

" If one or more of my nephews and nieces should happen to die without children before having reached the age of twenty-one, the share of those of them who may have deceased shall be divided betwixt my said sisters and my other nephews and nieces by equal portions.

" I name the honourable Robert Morris, Esq. of Philadelphia, my only testamentary executor.

" I revoke all other testaments or codicils which I may have made before the present, which alone I stand by as containing my last will.

" So made, dictated, and worded, by said testator, to the said notaries undersigned, and afterwards read, and read over again to him by one

of them, the other being present, which he well understood, and persevered in, at Paris, the year 1792, the 18th July, about five o'clock afternoon, in the room heretofore described, and the said testator signed the original of the present, unregistrated, at Paris the 25th September, 1792, by Defrance, who received one livre, provisionally, save to determine definitively the right after the declaration of the revenue of the testator. The original remained with Mr Pottier, one of the notaries at Paris, undersigned, who delivered these presents this day, 26th September, 1792, first of the French Republic.

" POTTIER.

" (Signed) L'AVERNIER."

(Copy)

" *Schedule of the Property of Admiral John Paul Jones, as stated by him to me this* 18*th of July,* 1792.

" 1st, Bank stock in the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, 6000 dollars, with sundry dividends.

" 2d, Loan-Office certificate left with my friend,

John Ross of Philadelphia, for 2000 dollars at par, with great arrearages of interest, being for ten or twelve years.

" 3d, Such balance as may be in the hands of my said friend, John Ross, belonging to me, and sundry effects left in his care.

" 4th, My lands in the State of Vermont.

" 5th, Shares in the Ohio Company.

" 6th, Shares in the Indiana Company.

" 7th, About L.1800 sterling due to me from Edward Bancroft, unless paid by him to Sir Robert Herries, and is then in his hands.

" 8th, Upwards of four years of my pension due from Denmark, to be asked from the Count de Bernstorf.

" 9th, Arrearages of my pay from the Empress of Russia, and all my prize-money.

" 10th, The balance due to me by the United States of America, and sundry claims in Europe, which will appear from my papers.

" This is taken from his mouth.

(Signed) " Govr. Morris,

" Ambassador from the United States to the Court of France."

The manners and moral character of Paul Jones have been the frequent subject of discussion and of very contradictory statements. His professional talents and personal appearance are less the topics of dispute. It is agreed that he was about the middle size, slightly made, but active and agile, and in youth capable of considerable exertion and fatigue. In advancing life, though he continued equally hardy and active in his habits, it was the vehement, fiery spirit that o'erinformed its shattered tenement; and after almost every journey we find him suffering from cold and fatigue, or having serious illnesses. He was of the complexion usually united with dark hair and eyes, which his were; but his skin had become embrowned by exposure from boyhood to all varieties of weather and of climate. His physiognomical expression indicated that promptitude and decision in action which were striking characteristics of his mind. His bust is said to be a good likeness; his portrait, painted in America, and probably a very indifferent resemblance, exhibits a rather precise-looking little man. The style of the highly-powdered hair, or wig, would,

however, convert Achilles himself into a pedant or a *petit-maître*.

In manners Paul Jones has been described by one party as stiff, finical, and conceited; by another as arrogant, brutal, and quarrelsome. The first statement may have some colour of truth, the last is impossible. He had reached manhood before he could have had much intercourse with polite society; and manners, formed so late in life on the fashionable models of Paris and Versailles, may have sat somewhat stiffly on the Anglo-American, who, in giving up his own republican simplicity, and professional openness and freedom, might not have acquired all the ease and grace, even if he did attain the elegance and polish of French manners; but his appearance and manners must have been those of a gentleman. *Mauvais ton*, to a certain degree, might have been tolerated in a seaman and a foreigner; but "rudeness, arrogance, and brutality," must have proved an effectual barrier of exclusion from those polite and courtly circles where Paul Jones was not only received but welcomed; and into which he made his own way, and maintained his place,

long after he had lost the gloss and resistless attraction of novelty. The letter of Madame Rinsby, and other published documents, prove the footing he held in respectable Freneh female society to his death, and are quite conclusive as to the propriety of his manners. He has again been described as "grossly ignorant." No one who pursues his career, or peruses his letters, can for a moment believe a charge so absurd. From his first appearance as a ship-boy he must have been set down as a very clever and promising lad; and if not a prodigy of learning, which was an impossibility, he had far more literature than was at all usual in his day, even in the very highest ranks of his profession. His verses are far from despicable. Baron Grimm, we think, overrates them, yet he was an admirable critic. They were found amusing and agreeable in polished society, which is the very best test and use of occasional verse, namely, of all such verse as the public can well spare, and his muse was humanizing to his own mind. We like his prose better than his verse. It is often admirable if struck off at one hit, particularly when the wri-

ter gets warm, and gives way to his feelings of indignation. It is said, that a minister, in reading the despatches of Lord Collingwood, who went to sea at twelve years of age, used to ask, "Where has Collingwood got his style?—He writes better than any of us." With fully more propriety many of the members of Congress, so far as regarded their own compositions and *resolves*, might have put a similar question in relation to Paul Jones. He is allowed to have been kind and attentive to his crews, and generous and liberal in all pecuniary transactions of a private nature; though his correspondence shows that he was commendably tenacious of his pecuniary claims on states and public bodies. His memoirs afford some pleasing instances of his kindness to his prisoners, and of his desire to rescue them from the fangs of agents and commissaries. So far as discipline *descends*, Paul Jones was a rigid and strict disciplinarian. In his own person he appears to have been so impatient of all control and check as to be unfit for any regularly-organized service, though admirably adapted to the singular crisis at which he appeared. To

his dress he was, or at least latterly became, so attentive as to have it remarked. It was a better trait that his ship was at all times remarkable for cleanliness and neatness, and for the same good order and arrangement which pervaded all his private affairs. He is said to have been fond of music, and to have performed himself.

The acute understanding of Paul Jones perpetually conflicting with his natural keenness and warmth of temper, gave at times the appearance of vacillation to his conduct, and the unpleasant and unwise alternation of bold defiance with undue submission. This is painfully conspicuous in his unhappy and heart-breaking connexion with Potemkin. On other occasions, as on the sailing of Landais in the mutiny, he showed a remarkable degree of self-command and forbearance. On many occasions he betrays the jealousy and dislike of England, which mark the half-conscious renegade. Franklin confines his vituperation to the Sovereign; Paul Jones extends it to the whole nation. The extravagant self-eulogium which so frequently obtrudes itself in his writing, and which must be

very offensive to English readers, was, it should be recollected, generally called forth by peculiar circumstances. A man has every right to bring forward his services, when those who should remember appear disposed to forget them. Besides, what is here concentrated into two small volumes, was in reality diffused over the correspondence of twenty years of an active life. Boasting, for some reason which we leave to philosophy to investigate, appears an inherent quality in great naval commanders. Nelson, Rodney, Drake, were all, in one sense, arrant braggarts.

It is a less amiable trait in the character of Paul Jones, that we find him very frequently quarrelling with rival and associate commanders, and never once bestowing hearty cordial praise on any one of them. His avarice of fame, like the same vice of a more sordid kind, not only gave him the insatiable desire of accumulation, but tempted him, if not to defraud, at least to trench on the rights of others; and his hostility, though open, was often far from generous: yet his squabbles were wholly professional. In private life there appears to have been no rea-

son to fasten on him the odious imputation of being quarrelsome, which some have attempted. He was fonder, not of glory alone, but of its trappings and badges, than quite became the champion of a republic, and the pupil of Franklin; but this is a mere subject of opinion. He may have considered these symbols as the seals with which Fame ratifies her bonds.

The moral character of Paul Jones, at all stages of his career, has been in this country the subject of violent abuse and of gross misrepresentation. If this has been done by Englishmen from a mistaken love of their country, they dishonour their country and themselves. If it is, as we hope, to be attributed to ignorance of facts, such statements should henceforth cease. The writer of this sketch by no means looks on the career of Paul Jones with Transatlantic eyes, nor views his character or attainments through the medium of Transatlantic partiality, as will be obvious to any one who pursues the course of this narrative. His political sins have been in no shape extenuated; and to the full extent of the evidence afforded by his papers—the best and only evidence

now to be obtained—his moral delinquencies have been fairly unfolded. Judging by the ordinary averages of human conduct, they shrink into very small compass. His failings were precisely such as he must have been a moral monster to have escaped; they arose from his natural character and from his profession:—it is the utmost malice could say, and more than is warranted by truth, that he was

"Jealous in honour; sudden and quick in quarrel:
——Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth."

APPENDIX.*

B.

" *Particulars of the Engagement between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis, by Richard Dale, First Lieutenant of the Bon Homme Richard.*

" On the 23d of September, 1779, being below, was roused by an unusual noise upon deck. This induced me to go upon deck, when I found the men were swaying up the royal yards, preparatory to making sail for a large fleet under our lee. I asked the coasting pilot what fleet it was? He answered, ' The Baltic Fleet, under convoy of the Serapis of forty-four guns, and the Countess of Scarborough of twenty guns.' A general chase then commenced of the Bon Homme Richard, the Vengeance, the Pallas, and

* The charges against Landais (A.) have been omitted in the Appendix, as their substance is given in the text.

the Alliance—the latter ship being then in sight, after a separation from the squadron of nearly three weeks; but which ship, as usual, disregarded the signals of the Commodore. At this time our fleet headed to the northward with a light breeze, Flamborough-head being about two leagues distant. At seven *p. m.* it was evident the Baltic fleet perceived we were in chase, from the signal of the Serapis to the merchantmen to stand in shore. At the same time, the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough tacked ship and stood off shore, with the intention of drawing off our attention from the convoy. When these ships had separated from the convoy about two miles, they again tacked and stood in shore after the merchantmen. At about eight, being within hail, the Serapis demanded, 'What ship is that?' He was answered, 'I can't hear what you say.' Immediately after the Serapis hailed again, 'What ship is that? Answer immediately, or I shall be under the necessity of firing into you.' At this moment I received orders from Commodore Jones to commence the action with a broadside, which indeed appeared to be simultaneous on board both ships. Our position being to windward of the Serapis, we passed ahead of her, and the Serapis coming up on our larboard quarter, the action commenced abreast of each other. The Serapis soon passed ahead of the Bon Homme

Richard, and when he thought he had gained a distance sufficient to go down athwart the fore-foot to rake us, found he had not enough distance, and that the Bon Homme Richard would be aboard him, put his helm alee, which brought the two ships on a line; and the Bon Homme Richard having head-way, ran her bows into the stern of the Serapis. We had remained in this situation but a few minutes, when we were again hailed by the Serapis, 'Has your ship struck?' To which Captain Jones answered, 'I have not yet begun to fight.' As we were unable to bring a single gun to bear upon the Serapis, our top-sails were backed, while those of the Serapis being filled, the ships separated. The Serapis wore short round upon her heels, and her jib-boom ran into the mizen-rigging of the Bon Homme Richard; in this situation the ships were made fast together with a hawser, the bowsprit of the Serapis to the mizen-mast of the Bon Homme Richard, and the action recommenced from the starboard sides of the two ships. With a view of separating the ships, the Serapis let go her anchor, which manœuvre brought her head and the stern of the Bon Homme Richard to the wind, while the ships lay closely pressed against each other. A novelty in naval combats was now presented to many witnesses, but to few admirers. The rammers were run into the respective ships to enable

the men to load, after the lower part of the Serapis had been blown away, to make room for running out their guns, and in this situation the ships remained until between ten and eleven o'clock *p. m.*, when the engagement terminated by the surrender of the Serapis.

" From the commencement to the termination of the action there was not a man on board of the Bon Homme Richard ignorant of the superiority of the Serapis, both in weight of metal and in the qualities of the crews. The crew of that ship were picked seamen, and the ship itself had been only a few months off the stocks; whereas the crew of the Bon Homme Richard consisted of part American, English, and French, and a part of Maltese, Portuguese, and Malays; these latter contributing, by their want of naval skill and knowledge of the English language, to depress rather than elevate a just hope of success in a combat under such circumstances. Neither the consideration of the relative force of the ships, the fact of the blowing up of the gun-deck above them, by the bursting of two of the eighteen-pounders, nor the alarm that the ship was sinking, could depress the ardour or change the determination of the brave Captain Jones, his officers and men. Neither the repeated broadsides of the Alliance, given with the view of sinking or disabling the Bon Homme Richard, the

frequent necessity of suspending the combat to extinguish the flames, which several times were within a few inches of the magazine, nor the liberation, by the master-at-arms, of nearly 500 prisoners, could change or weaken the purpose of the American commander. At the moment of the liberation of the prisoners, one of them, a commander of a twenty-gun ship, taken a few days before, passed through the ports on board the Serapis, and informed Captain Pearson that if he would hold out only a little while longer, the ship along-side would either strike or sink, and that all the prisoners had been released to save their lives; the combat was accordingly continued with renewed ardour by the Serapis. The fire from the tops of the Bon Homme Richard was conducted with so much skill and effect as to destroy ultimately every man who appeared upon the quarter-deck of the Serapis, and induced her commander to order the survivors to go below. Nor even under shelter of the decks were they more secure. The powder-monkeys of the Serapis finding no officer to receive the eighteen-pound cartridges brought from the magazines, threw them on the main-deck, and went for more. These cartridges being scattered along the deck, and numbers of them broken, it so happened that some of the hand-grenades thrown from the main-yard of the Bon Homme Richard,

which was direct over the main-hatch of the Serapis, fell upon this powder, and produced a most awful explosion. The effect was tremendous; more than twenty of the enemy were blown to pieces, and many stood with only the collars of their shirts upon their bodies. In less than an hour afterwards the flag of England, which had been nailed to the mast of the Serapis, was struck by Captain Pearson's own hand, as none of his people would venture aloft on this duty; and this too when more than 1500 persons were witnessing the conflict and the humiliating termination of it from Scarborough and Flamborough-head.

"Upon finding that the flag of the Serapis had been struck, I went to Captain Jones, and asked whether I might board the Serapis? to which he consented; and, jumping upon the gunwale, I seized the main-brace pennant, and swung myself upon her quarter-deck. Midshipman Mayant followed with a party of men, and was immediately run through the thigh with a boarding-pike by some of the enemy stationed in the waist, who were not informed of the surrender of the ship. I found Captain Pearson standing on the leeward side of the quarter-deck, and addressing myself to him, said,—'Sir, I have orders to send you on board the ship along-side.' The first lieutenant of the Serapis coming up

at this moment, inquired of Captain Pearson whether the ship along-side had struck to him? To which I replied, 'No, Sir, the contrary; he has struck to us.' The lieutenant renewing his inquiry, 'Have you struck, Sir?' was answered, 'Yes, I have.' The lieutenant replied, 'I have nothing more to say;' and was about to return below, when I informed him he must accompany Captain Pearson on board the ship along-side. He said, 'If you will permit me to go below, I will silence the firing of the lower-deck guns.' This request was refused, and with Captain Pearson he was passed over to the deck of the Bon Homme Richard. Orders being sent below to cease firing, the engagement terminated, after a most obstinate contest of three hours and a half.

"Upon receiving Captain Pearson on board the Bon Homme Richard, Captain Jones gave orders to cut loose the lashings, and directed me to follow him with the Serapis. Perceiving the Bon Homme Richard leaving the Serapis, I sent one of the quarter-masters to ascertain whether the wheel-ropes were cut away, supposing something extraordinary must be the matter, as the ship would not pay off, although the head-sails were aback, and no after-sail; the quarter-master returning, reported that the wheel-ropes were all well, and the helm hard a-port. Excited by this extraordinary circumstance, I jumped off the

binnacle, where I had been sitting, and, falling upon the deck, found, to my astonishment, I had the use of only one of my legs; a splinter of one of the guns had struck, and badly wounded my leg, without my perceiving the injury until this moment. I was replaced upon the binnacle, when the sailing-master of the Serapis, coming up to me, observed, that from my orders he judged I must be ignorant of the ship being at anchor. Noticing the second lieutenant of the Bon Homme Richard, I directed him to go below and cut away the cable, and follow the Bon Homme Richard with the Serapis. I was then carried on board the Bon Homme Richard to have my wound dressed."

C.

" FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

" *Manifesto.*

" GEORGE R.

" Through the whole course of our reign, our conduct towards the States General of the United Provinces has been that of a sincere friend and faithful ally. Had they adhered to those wise principles which used to govern the republic, they must have shown themselves

equally solicitous to maintain the friendship which has so long subsisted between the two nations, and which is essential to the interests of both.—From the prevalence of a faction devoted to France, and following the dictates of that court, a very different policy has prevailed. The return made to our friendship, for some time past, has been an open contempt of the most solemn engagements, and a repeated violation of public faith.

" On the commencement of the defensive war, in which we found ourselves engaged by the aggression of France, we showed a tender regard for the interest of the States General, and a desire of securing to their subjects every advantage of trade, consistent with the great and just principle of our own defence. Our ambassador was instructed to offer a friendly negotiation, to obviate every thing that might lead to a disagreeable discussion; and to this offer, solemnly made by him to the States General, the 2d of November, 1778, no attention was paid.

" After the number of our enemies increased by the aggression of Spain, equally unprovoked with that of France, we found it necessary to call upon the States General for the performance of their engagements. The fifth article of the perpetual defensive alliance between our crown and the States General, concluded at Westminster

the 3d of March, 1678, besides the general engagements for succours, expressly stipulates, 'That that party of the two allies that is not attacked shall be obliged to break with the aggressor in two months after the party attacked shall require it.' Yet two years have passed without the least assistance given to us,—without a single syllable in answer to our repeated demands.

"So totally regardless have the States been of their treaty with us, that they readily promised our enemies to observe a neutrality, in direct contradiction to those engagements; and whilst they have withheld from us the succours they were bound to furnish, every secret assistance has been given the enemy; and inland duties have been taken off, for the sole purpose of facilitating the carriage of naval stores to France.

"In direct and open violation of treaty, they suffered an American pirate to remain several weeks in one of their ports, and even permitted a part of his crew to mount guard in a fort in the Texel.

"In the East Indies the subjects of the States General, in concert with France, have endeavoured to raise up enemies against us.

"In the West Indies, particularly at St Eustatius, every protection and assistance has been given to our rebellious subjects. Three priva-

teers* are openly received into the Dutch harbours, allowed to refit there, supplied with arms and ammunition, their crews recruited, their prizes brought in and sold; and all this in direct violation of as clear and solemn stipulations as can be made.

" This conduct, so inconsistent with all good faith, so repugnant to the sense of the wisest part of the Dutch nation, is chiefly to be ascribed to the prevalence of the leading magistrates of Amsterdam, whose secret correspondence with our rebellious subjects was suspected long before it was made known, by the fortunate discovery of a treaty, the first article of which is,—

" ' There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and sincere friendship, between their High Mightinesses the estates of the Seven United Provinces of Holland and the United States of North America, and the subjects and people of the said parties, and between the countries, islands, cities, and towns, situate under the jurisdiction of the said United States of Holland and the said United States of America, and the people and inhabitants thereof, of every degree, without exception of persons or places.'

" This treaty was signed in September, 1778,

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* Paul Jones's squadron.

by the express order of the Pensionary of Amsterdam, and other principal magistrates of that city. They now not only avow the whole transaction, but glory in it, and expressly say, even to the States General, that what they did 'was what their indispensable duty required.'

"In the mean time the States General declined to give any answer to the memorial presented by our ambassador, and this refusal was aggravated by their proceeding upon other business, nay, upon the consideration of this very subject to internal purposes; and while they found it impossible to approve the conduct of their subjects, they still industriously avoided to give us the satisfaction so manifestly due.

"We had every right to expect that such a discovery would have roused them to a just indignation at the insult offered to us and to themselves, and that they would have been eager to give us full and ample satisfaction for the offence, and to inflict the severest punishment upon the offenders. The urgency of the business made an instant answer essential to the honour and safety of this country. The demand was accordingly pressed by our ambassador in repeated conferences with the ministers, and in a second memorial: it was pressed with all the sense of recent injuries, and the answer now given to a memorial on such a subject, delivered about five

weeks ago, is, *That the States have taken it ad referendum.* Such an answer, upon such an occasion, could only be dictated by the fixed purpose of hostility meditated, and already resolved by the States, induced by the offensive councils of Amsterdam, thus to countenance the hostile aggression which the magistrates of that city have made in the name of the republic.

" There is an end of the faith of all the treaties with them, if Amsterdam may usurp the sovereign power, may violate those treaties with impunity, by pledging the States to engagements directly contrary, and leaguing the republic with the rebels of a sovereign to whom she is bound by the closest ties. An infraction of the law of nations by the meanest member of any country gives the injured State a right to demand satisfaction and punishment: how much more so, when the injury complained of is a flagrant violation of public faith, committed by leading and predominant members of the State? Since, then, the satisfaction we have demanded is not given, we must, though most reluctantly, do ourselves that justice which we cannot otherwise obtain; we must consider the States General as parties in the injury which they will not repair, as sharers in the aggression which they refuse to punish, and must act accordingly. We have, therefore, ordered our ambassador to withdraw

from the Hague, and shall immediately pursue such vigorous measures as the occasion fully justifies, and our dignity and the essential interests of our people require.

" From a regard to the Dutch nation at large, we wish it were possible to direct those measures wholly against Amsterdam ; but this cannot be, unless the States General will immediately declare that Amsterdam shall, upon this occasion, receive no assistance from them, but be left to abide the consequences of its aggression.

" Whilst Amsterdam is suffered to prevail in the general councils, and is backed by the strength of the state, it is impossible to resist the aggression of so considerable a part, without contending with the whole. But we are too sensible of the common interests of both countries, not to remember, in the midst of such a contest, that the only point to be aimed at by us, is to raise a disposition in the councils of the republic to return to our ancient union, by giving us that satisfaction for the past, and security for the future, which we shall be as ready to receive as they can be to offer, and to the attainment of which we shall direct all our operations. We mean only to provide for our own security, by defeating the dangerous designs that have been formed against us. We shall ever be disposed to return to friendship with the States General,

when they sincerely revert to that system which the wisdom of their ancestors formed, and which has now been subverted by a powerful faction, conspiring with France against the true interests of the republic, no less than against those of Great Britain.

(Signed) " G. R.

" St James's, December 20, 1780."

THE END.

ERRATA.

VOL. I. p. 31, line 7 from bottom, for *Duncan* read *Dunmore.*
II. p. 30, line 10, and p. 95, line 5, for *Saporoses,* read *Zaporavians.*

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